THE

FOREIGN

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Meteorological Sketches.* By an Observer, (W. C. Redfield, Esq. of New York). Prepared for the 13th edition of the American Coast Pilot. American Journal of Science, No. I. Vol. XXXIII.

2. *Mr. Redfield, in Reply to Mr. Espy, on the Whirlwind Character of certain Storms.* From the Journal of the Franklin Institute.

WE venture, with all respect to our readers, to offer ourselves as one of their aides-de-camp or professional friends in this enquiry—not so much, however, to save them the trouble of reference to the works in question, as to guide their investigations by directing their attention to the most important facts of the subject. We have seen a few gales of wind in our time; and though it has never fallen to our lot to encounter a real hurricane, we have often studied their history on those lands and seas over which they sweep with an irresistible fierceness, that seems to defy alike the skill of the engineer on shore, and the seaman afloat. We have always believed from the surprising uniformity in their action, that the laws which regulated their formidable movements would one day be brought to light; and that then the hurricane, like an enemy whose movements we have discovered, might be more successfully coped with.

Colonel Reid lays no claim to originality in this discovery of the Law of Storms,* which belongs, in part to Franklin;—who clearly showed that gales of wind are progressive in a direction independent of that of the wind blowing in them;—in part to Colonel Capper, who suggested that they are vortices;—but essentially to Mr. Redfield of New York, who was the first person, Colonel Reid says, that gave any just notion of the nature of hurri-

* An Attempt to develope the Law of Storms, by means of Facts, arranged according to Place and Time, and hence to point out a Cause for variable Winds, with a view to practical use in Navigation. By Lieut.-Col. Reid, of the Royal Engineers. London: Weale. 1835.

canes. It is due to Mr. Redfield to mention that, until Colonel Reid informed him of Colonel Capper's having previously suggested the rotatory theory of storms, he was quite ignorant of the fact. This we can positively assert. Various other authorities have assisted more or less in this inquiry*—but it is not our present purpose to go into a history of the subject, still less to enter into the controversies to which it has given rise; but rather to lay before our readers with all impartiality the present state of our knowledge of the facts, so far as they seem to bear on the purposes of navigation. This we do, in the confident expectation that the attention of our foreign readers, especially those who inhabit the shores of the Baltic, the western coast of Norway, the Mediterranean, and the Black Sea, may be induced to co-operate in this important investigation; by collecting such a series of facts as may tend either to establish the theory first practically developed by Mr. Redfield, and so ably generalized and all but demonstrated by Colonel Reid; or else to substitute some other in its place, no less available in the practice of navigation and seamanship.

It may not be unnecessary, before going further, to say a word or two in explanation of the two technical terms we have just used, and which to most persons we suspect convey but vague ideas of essential distinction;—but which distinction it is very important to keep in view when we wish either to understand and relish these researches as a matter of scientific curiosity, or to apply our knowledge of the law of storms to practice at sea.

Navigation is the art of conducting a ship; first, across the seas from port to port, by knowing the route which may be followed with the most advantage; and next, by ascertaining at any given moment in what part of that route the ship may be, or how far out of it she may have been carried by currents or winds, or the treacherous agency of magnetic deviation. Seamanship on the other hand, so far as it relates to the progress of the voyage, consists in knowing what sail the ship is capable of carrying; how she is to be steered in fine weather; at what angle with the wind and sea she is to be placed in tempests; and generally, how she is to be trained and trimmed that she may make the most way with a fair wind; lose least when it is adverse; be exposed to the

* Dove of Berlin, whose ingenious speculation—for it is no more—has the following remarkable passage in one of his papers: "Hence," says he, "I ascertained, that in this country at least (Prussia), all winds are great whirlwinds—(I have seen rotations of from one to twenty days): that the rotation within this whirl moves on an average always in the same direction." Dove's Outlines of a General Theory of the Winds, translated in the 67th and 68th Numbers of the L. & E. Ph. Mag. for September and October, 1837.

smallest quantity of wear and tear, or more serious hazard, in bad weather; and finally, that she may be placed when the circumstances again become favourable, in such a position as to prosecute the voyage with advantage.

For want of these two kinds of knowledge many a goodly ship has gone to the bottom—many a voyage has been baulked altogether—while innumerable others have been protracted to twice or thrice their proper duration, to the serious loss of the owners, the health of the crew, and often to the ruin of the ship, by the needless straining to which she has been exposed.

It is very true that old sailors, especially if their business leads them to traverse again and again the same districts of the ocean, do acquire an instinctive sense of the right thing to do, even under the fiery trial of a hurricane: but by far the greater number of sailors, however experienced, have hitherto been left very much at a loss on these occasions. Of the truth of this an inspection of the numerous log-books brought together by the industry of Colonel Reid will afford ample proof. Nor is the remark confined to the merchant service, but includes in many cases the most highly educated and experienced officers in the navy. It is easy to perceive indeed, that talents, and the longer or shorter exercise of those habits of resource which the naval profession above all others has a tendency to teach, make a vast difference in the manner in which different ships are handled under similar circumstances of danger and difficulty. But nothing is more certain, as every observant officer must have felt, than the practical advantage which results from an acquaintance with the theory of the phenomena they have to deal with; since it enables them to form a business-like generalization of the laws of the winds, currents, and so forth, which they must meet in traversing the ocean.

Of all the difficulties that seamen have to encounter there is perhaps none which has more frequently baffled their skill or perplexed their science, than the hurricanes of the West Indies and the coast of America, and those of the Mauritius. As it happens also unfortunately, that these districts form parts of the most frequented routes of the ships of all nations, not a season passes in which we do not hear of vast losses of life and property, both on board ships and on shore. So that it becomes a question of great practical importance to ascertain the laws by which these furious tempests are governed; for until this be done it is but vain to hope that they can be successfully coped with. Indeed we may easily discover from inspecting the log-books in Colonel Reid's volume, that in many instances ships have been led into destruction by some of the ablest and most experienced hands,

from their acting quite in the dark as to the movements of the elements around them; while, had they been in possession of the facts here recorded and of the generalizations based upon them, they might have saved their vessels.

It must not be supposed however that the law of these great storms is as yet fully determined: on the contrary, the chief object of Mr. Redfield's publications, and of Colonel Reid's, is to show the incomplete state of our knowledge of the facts upon which alone any safe and practical theory can be built. These gentlemen have, with great industry and public spirit, devoted themselves to the collection and arrangement of an immense mass of details; and their inferences from these facts are drawn with so much ingenuity, that we are sure the science of navigation will immediately feel the benefit of the dispersion of Colonel Reid's book. This we rejoice to hear has met with the encouragement of the Admiralty, the Trinity House, and various other influential public boards, and has been sent, officially, to the Governors of all our Colonies.

We are most anxious to contribute our share in this important research, which is not merely national but universal; and of high interest to every country possessing either ships, colonies, or commerce. An inspection of Colonel Reid's work, in which is condensed and arranged all that is known up to this moment, will show the value of accumulating new facts; observed, not for the purpose of substantiating this or that hypothesis, but with a view to elucidating the actual laws that govern the winds; and they, we may be well assured, are as precise and uniform as those which regulate the other phenomena of nature. With the help of the rotatory and progressive theory which we shall presently explain, it is clear that observations may be made with much greater advantage than heretofore, even should that theory not turn out to be the correct one. Observers will now be taught how, and what, to note and to record: and we anxiously hope that the diffusion of this notice of the subject, on the continent as well as in this country, will essentially contribute to the establishment of such a series of general rules as may be available by practical men in all climates. This result can be accomplished only by the collection of a great mass of actual observations, patiently examined and reasoned upon, at full leisure, in the closet of such men as Redfield and Reid; to be afterwards made use of by seamen in their times of greatest danger and difficulty.

We have already mentioned that the nature of a hurricane, and probably of all great storms, was first suggested as we believe by Colonel Capper, who says—

"It would not, perhaps, be a matter of great difficulty to ascertain the situation of a ship in a whirlwind, by observing the strength and changes of the wind. If the changes are sudden and the wind violent, in all probability the ship must be near the centre of the vortex of the whirlwind; whereas if the wind blows a great length of time from the same point, and the changes are gradual, it may reasonably be supposed the ship is near the extremity of it."

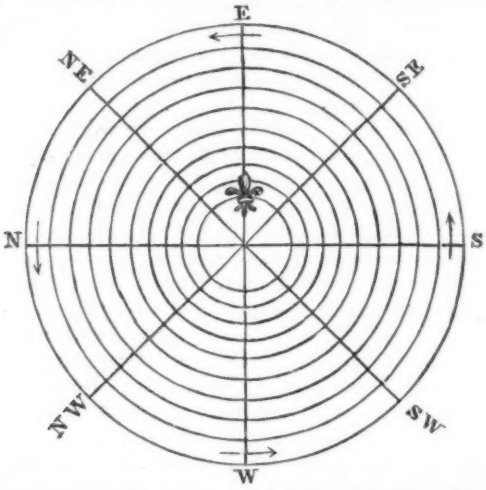
This hint has been at last acted on and followed out with great success by Mr. Redfield, who, from living in the United States, had the best means of studying those great hurricanes that, after exerting their worst violence amongst the west islands, visit the shores of the United States, along which they often sweep with great force. This able philosopher has accordingly availed himself of his position with singular address, and Colonel Reid is not slow to acknowledge the extent of his obligations to his transatlantic fellow-labourer.

Franklin, as we have said, was aware that what he called north-east storms,—or those storms in which the wind blew from the north-east point of the compass, came in reality from the south-west; that is to say, they were first felt in those parts of the country which lay to the southward and westward of his position—beginning in Florida, then striking the state of Georgia, and so on to the Carolinas, Virginia, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and, finally, Massachusetts, which state contains Boston. Now as this town, where Franklin resided, lies at the weathermost point of the track of these gales, it became an interesting question to determine how they came from the leeward: but his explanation, though ingenious, is certainly not near so satisfactory as the present theory. Franklin's idea was, that from some cause a partial vacuum was formed in the south-west, near the point where the gale was first felt, and the adjacent wind, rushing in to supply the vacant space, caused the north-eastern gale; farther, that as the place of this air was also to be supplied, another and another portion was called into action, beginning from the south-west and proceeding to the north-east.* The doctrine held by Mr. Redfield, and we think substantiated by the facts brought together by him and by Colonel Reid is, that a hurricane or great gale is simply a whirlwind, revolving (at least in the northern hemisphere) in a direction contrary to that of the hands of a watch; or

* Franklin's words are, "Thus to produce a north-east storm, suppose some great rarefaction of the air in or near the gulf of Mexico, the air rising thence has its place supplied by the next more northern, cooler, and therefore denser and heavier air; a successive current is formed, to which our coast and inland mountains give a north-east direction." This theory falls to pieces under a very slight examination of Mr. Redfield's facts collected in the United States.

from right to left, supposing yourself in its centre; and that, at the same time, the centre of this vortex is advancing in a line at one time nearly straight, and at another considerably curved, but always at a rate of progression which is very slow compared to that of the wind circulating round this centre.

It will greatly assist the reader of Colonel Reid's book to construct a figure like the following, of concentric circles, on a card, and hold it in his hand or lay it on the maps at the end of the book. We know indeed by experience that it is not easy to follow the Colonel's explanations without the help of such a guide, but that by its means the whole is perfectly simplified.

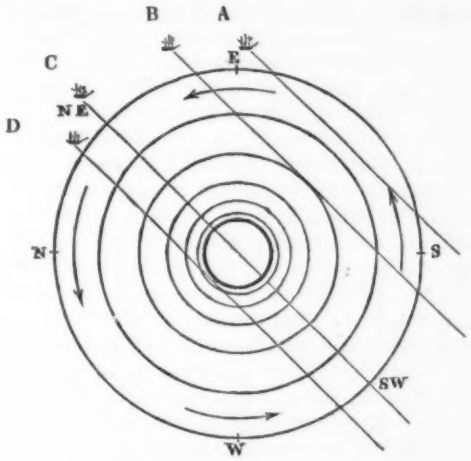


N. B. The letters and the arrows show the direction from which the wind is blowing.

An inspection of this figure will show that if such be a representation of the manner in which the wind revolves round a centre, which we have ample reason to suppose that it does in the northern hemisphere, the following circumstances may be expected. On the northern part of all the circles, great and little, the wind will be found to blow from the east, while on the south parts of the same circles it will be blowing from the west; on the right or eastern hand the wind will be from the south, and on the left or western side from the north. At the intermediate points the wind will be found to vary between these points. Thus half way between the eastern and northern sides of the circles the wind will be found to blow from the south-east, and so on.

It may be proper to mention that, so far as authentic observations have yet been compared together, this rotatory law (that is,

from right to left, or contrary to the motion of the hands of a watch) belongs to all hurricanes and other great storms in the *northern* hemisphere; while similar observations tend to show that the storms of the *southern* hemisphere revolve in the opposite direction. In order to avoid confusion however we shall confine ourselves to the storms on the northern side of the equator; and this being borne in mind, we shall proceed to explain by means of a diagram, what would take place if a rotatory storm, advancing in a north-western direction, were to strike four ships differently situated.



The wind would not veer much, as Colonel Reid remarks, while the hurricane was passing over A, the ship which lay most to the eastward. It would commence with her at about east by south and leave off at south by east. The next ship, B, would be plunged deeper into the hurricane. With her the gale would commence at east by north, then it would veer to east, next to south-east, then to south, and on leaving her it would blow from south by west. The ship C, which is supposed to be placed directly in the path of the hurricane's centre, would get the gale at north-east; and this direction would be continued without any variation, but probably with unceasing violence till the centre of the hurricane had nearly reached her, when she would experience a short calm; after this the wind would blow again with great violence from the opposite, or south-western, quarter, without variation in direction but probably with gradually diminishing violence, till it left her altogether. The fourth ship, D, would

get the gale first at north-east by north, then north north-east, next north by east, then north, north by west, and north-west in succession; after which it would veer to west north-west, west, west south-west, and lastly to about south-west by west on quitting the gale.

With this example steadily kept in the mind, and a card of the description we have recommended at p. 6 always ready to lay on the maps as the reader refers to them, or to hold in his hand while consulting the log-books from which Colonel Reid gives the most copious extracts, we are convinced that the whole of the documentary part of the work may be understood, and the proper degree of weight be given to the evidence brought forward. It must be recollected that when the question regards phenomena in the southern hemisphere, the rotatory motion of storms is in the direction of the hands of a watch, or from left to right. We fear it would be altogether hopeless to give any just notion of the degree of conviction with which the evidence of Colonel Reid's witnesses impresses our minds, unless we could give not merely the words of their testimony, but also (which is quite out of our power) the beautifully executed and satisfactory charts, by which not only the work is embellished, but the whole argument illustrated in the clearest manner. We may describe however what is the nature of this evidence. It consists of a great number of records, simultaneously but independently made, of the direction of the wind and the state of the weather, at a great variety of places, during the period that a storm has been sweeping over given districts, whether at sea or on land, or both. It will be evident from these data that, if the rotatory theory be true, and instead of one gale uniform in direction sweeping over the district in question, a whirlwind more or less limited in diameter be carried along a given course, that then the winds adjacent to that course will vary in succession through every point of the compass.

At first sight this might appear merely a matter of scientific curiosity; but it is to be considered that if the captain of a ship be informed of the exact part of the storm in which he is involved, and be in possession of the laws which regulate its direction and its degrees of violence, he may be able to shape such a course as either to escape from the vortex altogether, or to separate himself as far as he can from those divisions of it where the wind blows with the greatest force. Even supposing, which is but a common case, that the fury of the storm is too great to admit of any sail being carried at all, or any head way being made, still it may in most instances be in the power of the commander to place his ship on the tack he pleases; and this alone, under certain circumstances, may often be the means of saving a ship from foundering.

We are not afraid of being found too technical to be understood when we say that if a ship is lying to, even under bare poles, it is of considerable consequence to her safety to know whether the wind is likely to veer forward or to veer aft. If it veer or shift aft, that is, come more and more fair, or towards the stern, the ship "comes up" as it is called and no greater harm is done than her plunging into the head sea which the previous wind had knocked up. But if the wind shifts forward or in sea language "breaks her off" she is apt, if the shift of wind is sudden, to be taken aback; and in certain cases is forced stern foremost amongst the waves, and so sent to the bottom before means can be taken to "pay her off."

This we think will be quite enough to show the great importance to seamen of their being made aware of the "Law of Storms;" and we consider that the naval profession, military as well as mercantile, all over the world, are in the highest degree indebted to Colonel Reid for having gone into this branch of the subject with a technical precision truly remarkable in a person not bred to the sea, and a clearness which no one at all interested in the subject, and on the spot where the danger arises, can possibly mistake.

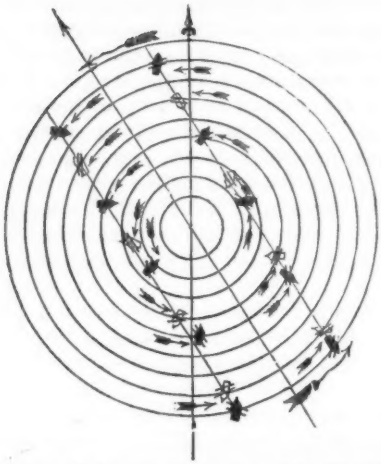
Colonel Reid winds up his book by a notice, entitled "Rule for laying ships to in a hurricane;" and since, practically speaking, this is perhaps the most important point of the whole discussion, we shall give his directions in his own words, which no seaman could improve.

"That tack," says the Colonel, "in which a ship should be laid to in a hurricane has been hitherto a problem to be solved; and is one which seamen have long considered important to have explained. In these tempests, when a vessel is lying to, and the wind veers by the ship's head, she is in danger of getting stern way, even when no sail is set; for in a hurricane, the wind's force on the masts and yards alone will produce this effect, should the wind veer ahead; and it is supposed that vessels have often foundered from this cause. When the wind veers aft, as it is called, or by the stern, this danger is avoided; and a ship then *comes up* to the wind, instead of having to *break off* from it.

"If great storms obey fixed laws, and the explanation given of them in this work be the true one, then the rule for laying a ship to, follows like the corollary to a problem already solved.

"In order to define the two sides of a storm, that side will here be called 'the right hand semicircle' which is on the right of the storm's course, as we look in the direction in which it is moving: just as we speak of the right bank of a river.

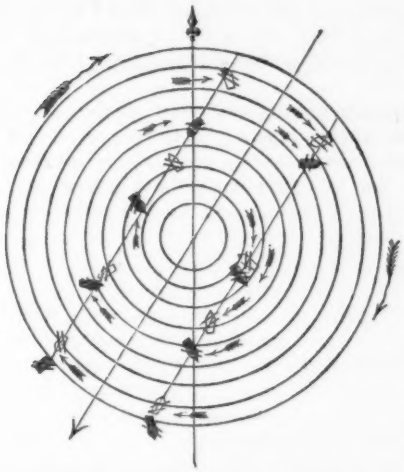
"The rule for laying a ship to will be, when in the *right hand* semicircle, to heave-to on the *starboard* tack, and when in the *left hand* semicircle, on the *larboard* tack, in both hemispheres.



"This figure is intended to represent one of the West India hurricanes moving towards the north-west by north in the direction of the spear drawn obliquely. The commander of a ship can ascertain what part of a circular storm he is falling into, by observing how the wind begins to veer. Thus in the preceding figure, the ship which falls into the right hand semicircle would receive the wind at first about east by north ; but it would soon veer to east, as the storm passed onwards. The ship which falls into the left hand semicircle, would at first receive the wind at north-east, but with this latter ship, instead of veering towards the east, it would veer towards the north."—p. 425.

The Colonel might have added in further illustration of the practical use of these laws that, supposing either of the ships in the above figure to have had it in their power to carry sail, instead of lying-to the one might have steered to the north-east and the other to the south-west, and thus have got beyond the limits of the hurricane before they came abreast of the centre ; and here all authorities seem agreed in placing the most violent gusts, and the most sudden and dangerous shifts of wind.

It is not very easy at first to understand how the above rule, laid down by Col. Reid for lying to, will apply to the hurricanes of the southern hemisphere which are known to devolve in the opposite direction. But this will be obvious by considering the following figure.



"In both these figures the black ships are on the proper tacks, the white, or unshaded ships, being on the wrong ones.

"The second figure is intended to represent one of those hurricanes in south latitude which pass near Mauritius, proceeding to the south eastward. The whirlwind is supposed to be passing over the vessels in the direction of the spear-head. It will be seen that the black ships are always *coming up*, and the white ships always *breaking off;* and that they are on opposite tacks on opposite sides of the circle.

"Thus the Astrea, commanded by Sir C. Schomberg, was on the proper tack on the 20th March, 1811, and an inspection of the log of that ship at p. 236, will show how gradually she came up; but the Buccleugh on the 22nd January, 1834, (pp. 152 and 153, and the figure on p. 151,) having had the wind from E.S.E. veering to south, then to south south west, thereby proving her to be on the right hand semi-circle of a storm moving southerly, was in the wrong position when laid to on the larboard tack. Had she been on the other tack, the wind veering would have drawn aft; then, perhaps, she would not have been so long with her broadside in the trough of the sea, and with her lee-waist full of water."—p. 428.

We make no apology for dwelling chiefly on these practical points, for we feel above all things anxious to show that such inquiries are really useful to seamen, and are not merely ingenious speculations. Our wish is to encourage observers on shore as well as afloat to take notice of the facts, and to record them carefully, under the impression that their labour will be usefully bestowed in rendering navigation more certain and more safe: and we would solicit the attention of navigators to these investigations

from a conviction of the truth of what Colonel Reid so often urges; namely, that *if* the wind in storms follows a fixed law, much advantage must be immediately gained by the knowledge of that law.

We have already pointed out some of the advantages of knowing these laws, but we may advert to others. Colonel Reid shows that, in several cases, ships by not knowing what they were about, or rather by not knowing what the winds were about, actually kept company with hurricanes, as if such companionship were a thing to be sought!

"In following," says he, "the tracks of storms here detailed, we find that the hurricane drawn on chart VI. passed over the island of Antigua in six hours; yet the ship Judith-and-Esther, not far from that island, was twenty-fours in that storm, for she ran along it; and many other instances of the same nature occur in this inquiry."—p. 429.

If the reader will refer to the account of the fatal gale well known in the Indian seas by the name of the Blenheim's Storm, in which that ship and the Java foundered, he will see at pages 241 and 243, that the Harrier brig scudded, that is put herself right before the wind, throughout the whole gale, changing her course as the wind veered. Thus she necessarily kept in the hurricane, running round and round one of its circles for three-quarters of a revolution! It is possible, nay, almost certain, that had she been aware of the laws which regulate storms she might readily have flanked out of it. It is not however in the guidance of ships in storms alone that these laws, if they are well founded, may be rendered available in the practice of navigation; for they are highly serviceable in such weather as may be taken advantage of to advance the voyage. A hurricane at sea is like a battle in a campaign; an important but an unfrequent occurrence, for which it is wise to be well prepared. But the general business of a voyage, like that of a campaign, is to get along; and it is of as great importance to a navigator to know where to look for a wind as to know how to profit by it when he has found it. On a voyage to or from India, a skilful sailor, especially if he adds some touch of science to the rule-of-thumb knowledge he has derived from experience, will be able "to pick up a wind" during almost the whole of his track out and home. Let us hear what Colonel Reid says on this subject.

"If one side of a storm be to a ship in her voyage a foul wind, the opposite side of the same storm would be a fair one. Thus within the tropics in the Indian Ocean, the left hand semicircle is a fair wind for ships in their voyage from India to the Cape of Good Hope, whilst the right hand side will assist the voyages of outward-bound ships. But,"

adds the Colonel with his usual technical precision, "there is this important difference, that in the case of the ships coming from India to the Cape they would carry the fair wind with them; whereas in the other semicircle, owing to the ships' sailing in the contrary direction to the progression of the gale, they would have the benefit of it during a short time only. Thus, if a hurricane coming from the eastward were passing over the Mauritius, moving at the rate of ten miles an hour, and a ship sailing eastward were to fall into the side of the storm next the equator, (she would find the wind fair and blowing from the westward, but) the ship and storm would pass each other in half the time in which the hurricane would pass over the island, since they would be travelling at the same rates, but in opposite directions."—p. 429.

He might have completed this illustration by saying, that if a ship coming from Ceylon or Java were to fall in with the storm at its southern border, or that farthest from the equator, she would have a fair wind from the eastward; and if it were not too violent, she might scud before it so as to "improve the gale" during the whole range of its progression.

We have already mentioned that, without referring to the charts in Mr. Redfield's papers and Colonel Reid's book, and giving much more copious extracts from the log-books of the ships whose places are laid down on the charts than we have space for, we could afford no fair notion of the kind and degree of evidence which is brought forward in support of the rotatory and progressive motion of storms. There is one case however which is more susceptible of description in words than the rest, and we shall mention it as an interesting sample of the theory.

Before proceeding to this particular case (that of the Blanche frigate), it is but fair to such of our readers as have not seen Colonel Reid's book, or fallen in with Mr. Redfield's papers in the American Journals of Science, to state in general terms that in the months of August and September, which is the well known hurricane-season of the West Indies, these furious tempests are found to begin somewhere between the latitudes of 10° and 20° north, and the longitudes of 55° and 60° west, in that district of the Atlantic lying immediately to the eastward of Barbadoes. The hurricanes would seem to be much more limited in their size at first than they become afterwards; as is evidenced by their sometimes threading their way, as it were, amongst the windward islands, desolating some and leaving others unharmed and in a state of calm; or if at sea, dismasting some ships of a fleet, while others at no great distance enjoy moderate breezes! The hurricane then proceeds on its course towards the west-north-west, and after visiting in succession Barbadoes, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and the other islands of that cluster, falls upon Porto Rico, St. Domingo, Jamaica, and Cuba. Here-

abouts it generally begins to bend its course more towards the north. In military language the hurricane here obeys the order "left shoulders forward!" or as sailors would say, "puts its helm a-port," making furious havoc at Turk's Island, and at Rum Key and others of the Bahamas, a region especially exposed to the fury of these tempests. After this the gale, now greatly expanded in width, shapes a course nearly north; which however it continues but a short time before it recurves, or bends back into a north-eastern route; and this it maintains along the shores of the United States till it passes New York, the Eastern States, and Nova Scotia, and is finally dissipated about the region of the Banks of Newfoundland.

During this long march of about three thousand miles the hurricane advances at a very slow rate, say from ten to twenty miles an hour only; or not more, and frequently not so much as, the ordinary velocity of the trade winds! When it is considered that the velocity of the wind *in* the hurricane itself often amounts to 80, 90, or 100 miles an hour, it is difficult if not impossible to account for the well known facts of the case upon any other supposition than that they are merely progressive whirlwinds.

We shall now glance at the curious case of the Blanche frigate, Commodore Farquhar, which was off the north side of Cuba on the 12th of August 1830. On the 15th she passed through the straits of Florida under the full influence of the gulf stream, which carried her rapidly to the northward. Here she was overtaken by a hurricane, which, having passed a little to the northward of Barbadoes three days before, must have travelled at the rate of about seventeen miles an hour in a direction about north-west-by-west. The left or north-western side of the whirlwind appears to have struck the Blanche in the middle of the night, for the wind blew from the north-east. She was then on the starboard tack, but as the wind veered to the northward she fortunately wore ship about sunrise; and placed herself on the larboard or proper tack for a ship in the left hand semicircle of the storm.

There she lay, plunging at a great rate, losing her topmasts and other spars piecemeal, springing her lower masts, splitting her sails, and having men washed overboard; in short, exposed to all the fury of the hurricane. Meanwhile the storm having reached nearly its extreme western point, had recurved, and was proceeding slowly on its course to the north-north-west; and thus the Blanche (being in the left half of the whirlwind) had the wind blowing successively from the north-east, north, north-west, and, finally, west and south-west, till at last the storm passed on and left her altogether. By dint of the south-west wind in the tail of the hur-

ricane, and the favourable agency of the gulf stream, she made rapid progress to the north-eastward. On the 22nd of August however she was overtaken by a fresh hurricane, which came from the southward after having swept past the Bahamas as usual. On this occasion however the Blanche passed through the right hand semicircle of the storm, which is manifest from her having the wind first from the east-north-east, then the east, veering so quickly to the south-east and south as to indicate a near approximation to the centre of the whirlwind. And here one of many apparently minute but really important details is obtained by an inspection of the actual log-book. We allude to the circumstance of the foresail being set just at the time the wind had shifted from south-east to south; and when, had the commander been aware of the true theory of storms, he might have suspected that the lull in which he made sail as if the storm had passed, was only indicative of his being close to the central, or most dangerous district of the hurricane. Accordingly, on reading a little farther, we find that a heavy sea presently stove in the cabin deadlights; the reefed foresail was again hauled up, the hurricane increased, and the forestaysail blew to pieces.

On this occasion too, the Blanche was on the starboard or proper tack; so that as the wind shifted from south-east to south, and so to south-west and west, she always "came up" as the wind hauled round. What is highly curious in itself, and important in confirmation of the rotatory theory in storms, is the fact that, while the Blanche, at the distance of between three and four hundred miles from the coast of America, had the wind blowing from the south-east, veering to south-west and west, it was "every where a north-east storm along the whole range of the United States."—Reid, p. 121. This clearly indicates that the centre of the whirlwind passed along at some distance from the shore, in a direction so nearly parallel to it that only the north-western, or left-hand division of the circle swept the different parts of the coast in succession; so that while to the inhabitants of the "seaboard" of the United States this gale seemed merely a north-eastern storm, it veered all round the compass to the Blanche and various other ships at some distance from the coast. For example, the Britannia sailed from New York on the 16th of August, and met the hurricane on the 17th, when the wind was north-east, but it presently shifted to the east-north-east, and then to south-east. In like manner the ship Illinois was overtaken on her way from New Orleans to Liverpool by this same hurricane.

"It will be seen," says Colonel Reid, "that on the 15th of August, 1830, the swell caused by this storm, then to the southward of this ship, reached the vessel; but as the Illinois had a fair wind and was assisted

by the gulf stream, whilst the storm made a detour towards Charlestown and the coast of Georgia, she, for a day, outran the swell; but on the 17th the storm overtook her blowing furiously from *south*, whilst at the same moment the wind from the *north-east* was unroofing the houses at New York!"—p. 14.

This rotatory and progressive theory is greatly strengthened by observing what takes place when the centre of the storm, instead of passing at a distance from the coast, falls near it or actually upon it. In this case the inhabitants of the "sea board" towns experience exactly the same shifts of winds, or veerings, as a ship does which, like the Blanche, is plunged into the heart of the hurricane. The industrious, clear-sighted Redfield has accumulated a number of most interesting facts respecting the second storm of August 1830, and as these have very properly been reprinted by Colonel Reid, (pages 18, 19, and 20,) any one who pleases may trace its progress along the whole coast.

We shall conclude this branch of the subject by extracting Mr. Redfield's summary of the dimensions, the rate of progression, and the course followed by this remarkable storm, which he says "appears to have passed over the whole route comprised in the foregoing sketch in about six days, or at an average rate of about seventeen geographical miles per hour."

"The duration of the most violent portion of the storm, at the several points over which it passed may be stated at from seven to twelve hours.

"The general width of the tract influenced in a greater or less degree by the gale on the American coast, is estimated to have been from five to six hundred miles. The width of the *hurricane portion* of the track, or severe part of the gale, one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty miles. Semidiameter of the hurricane portion of the storm, seventy-five to one hundred and twenty-five miles.

"The rate of the storm's progress from the Island of St. Thomas to Providence Island, Bahamas, (nearly the whole range of the West Indies) fifteen nautical miles an hour. From Providence to St. John's in Florida, sixteen miles per hour. From St. John's to Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, sixteen and a half miles per hour. From Cape Hatteras to Nantucket, on the south-eastern coast of Massachusetts, eighteen miles per hour. From Nantucket to Sable Island, off the south-eastern coast of Nova Scotia, twenty miles per hour."—*Reid*, p. 20, *cited from Redfield.*

Our space, we regret to say, will not allow us to follow in detail, or indeed at all, any of those memorable West India hurricanes of which Colonel Reid has collected together the accounts; and these he has illustrated by woodcuts and maps of great beauty and interest, and substantiated by such a mass of evidence from the log-books of the ships, the meteorological journals and newspapers of the islands, and the official reports of the various autho-

rities, as sets the question almost at rest. At all events we feel confident, now there is such a key put into the hands of the persons who have most interest in the decision, we mean the inhabitants of the hurricane latitudes, as they are called, and the seaman navigating the circumjacent seas, that the point at issue must soon be determined. In the mean time we can safely recommend this portion of Colonel Reid's book to the perusal of the general reader, as likely to afford him—we cannot say amusement—(for such formidable scenes are too painful for that)—but the highest degree of interest which any voyages or travels can be supposed to yield.

Besides the more recent hurricanes, five of which he traces in one year, (1837,) Colonel Reid gives a minute and instructive account of the great storm of 1780, when, of Sir Peter Parker's squadron, the Thunderer, the Stirling Castle, Scarborough, Barbadoes, Phœnix, Deal Castle, Victor, and the Endeavour, were all lost, and nearly the whole of their crews perished! The Berwick, Hector, Trident, Ruby, Bristol, Ulysses, and Pomona, were dismasted. Of Sir George Rodney's squadron, the Blanche, Andromeda, Laurel, Chamelion, and Beaver's prize were lost; and the Vengeance, Montagu, Ajax, Alcmene, Egmont, Endymion, Albemarle, Venus, and Amazon, were dismasted or severely damaged.—p. 275.

In like manner he describes, in more or less detail, the storms of the southern hemisphere; especially those which blow with such irresistible fury at and in the neighbourhood of the Isle of France. The most remarkable of these is known by the name of the "Culloden's Storm;" and from the circumstance of its details having been fully examined into and reported upon by a court of inquiry composed of twelve East India Directors, much light is thrown upon the subject, all tending to establish the rotatory and progressive theory.

We have not space to go into this inquiry; but as it is important to fix attention upon the uniformity in principle between the phenomena of the two hemispheres, we shall quote one paragraph from Colonel Reid's book. Alluding to the Culloden's storm, he says

"So many ships dispersed by the same storm over a great extent, give us the means of judging of its nature and of the course it took. We find it, after having travelled obliquely with regard to the Trade-wind from the east towards the west, recurving at the 25th and 30th degrees of south latitude, and going off to the *south-eastward*, with a remarkable degree of similarity to the manner in which hurricanes already traced in the northern hemisphere, pass off to the north-eastward."—p. 159.

This singular recurving or bending of the track of these hurri-

canes, both in the northern and in the southern hemisphere, can be fully understood only from inspection of the maps laid down by Mr. Redfield and Colonel Reid in illustration of their positions. These projections also explain some anomalies which puzzled and misled even the oldest sailors, but which by their help are not only simple, but such as may be turned to account in the practice of navigation.

In the minutes of the proceedings of the committee of inquiry at the India House, most of the commanders speak of this hurricane (the Culloden's gale) as two distinct storms; and throughout their evidence, use the terms first and second gales. This appeared an enigma until chart VIII. was projected by Colonel Reid —but when the chart was finished, this very circumstance helped to explain the nature of the storm. And further on it is shown almost to demonstration how four of the Indiamen, by not knowing what they were doing, and in entire ignorance of the laws now developed, must have sailed towards the tract of the storm's centre, "near which, in all probability, they foundered."—p. 160.

"The storm in which H. M. ships Blenheim and Java foundered," says Colonel Reid, "bears the same indication of a rotatory character with those already described."—p. 240.

In short, without multiplying examples, it may be said that in both hemispheres every well authenticated fact or rather set of facts (for it requires a good many simultaneous observations to prevent error), tends to confirm the rotatory theory.

This brings us to a highly interesting branch of the subject; namely—How do storms behave in high latitudes? and we venture to say that no one who examines Colonel Reid's ninth chapter which answers this inquiry, will fail to discover in it matter of the highest interest, and all the more so from its bringing the subject to our very doors.

"On the south coast of England, violent gales usually set in with the wind about south and veer *by the west*, toward north west. The barometer falling at the commencement, rises as the wind becomes more northerly. In the corresponding latitude, in the southern hemisphere, this order as regards both wind and barometer is reversed."—p. 369.

Colonel Reid goes on to illustrate his generalization by an attempt, and we think a successful one, to ascertain the nature of the gales of February 1838, particularly a storm which was severe from the south-east quarter in Ireland, and at the west of Scotland. The scope afforded by Great Britain however being rather too limited for this inquiry, Colonel Reid obtained information from Rear Admiral Sir John Ommaney, commanding on the Lisbon station.

"By the reports from the ships under his command, we find that on the 14th February, when the storm was blowing violently at Cape Clear Light House (on the south of Ireland) from the *south-east*, that the Chamelion was lying-to in a hard gale off Oporto, with the wind at *south-west*. On the 12th February, too, the Bellerophon was driven on shore at Gibraltar, with the wind at *south west*."—p. 377.

Now, we find by the published records (p. 381) that the wind in Ireland at the same moment was from the north-east. It was only wanting, to substantiate the rotatory nature of this gale, to ascertain in what direction the wind was blowing at the bottom of the Bay of Biscay; and we may imagine the satisfaction with which Colonel Reid ascertained (after his book was published) from an inspection of the log-book of the North Star, Lord John Hay's ship, that the wind at Passages was blowing from the south at the same period that it was blowing from the north-east in Ireland, and from south-west at Cadiz and Gibraltar. Incidentally too he ascertained that the Athol, troop ship, far out in the Atlantic (in lat. 27° N. long. 36° W.) beyond the Azores and Madeira, had light variable winds on the 12th and 13th February, when it was blowing so hard on the coast of Spain and in the Bay of Biscay. What is still more to the purpose, as she sailed on to the north-eastward the wind freshened and came from the west north-west and north-west; evidently showing that the Athol, by steering to the north-eastward, had overtaken the south-western portion of the whirlwind.

Our chief anxiety, throughout these remarks, has been rather to direct the attention of practical men to the most effectual method of meeting gales of wind with advantage to their voyage and safety to their ships, than to indulge in speculations on the abstract principle of storms. But we are strongly of opinion that the two inquiries—theoretical and practical—may be most advantageously studied together.

One practical remark of great and immediate utility must not be omitted; and we have no doubt that its importance will be felt by all, but especially by persons in command of ships, on whom so heavy a responsibility rests.

An attentive consideration of the circumstances above stated will show that ships may safely, indeed advantageously, leave the American ports for Europe when half the storm is over; that is, when the wind begins to veer to the westward, for then the wind is fair for Europe. But when ships are about to sail *from* Europe *to* America the contrary will be the case: and ships starting from European ports should be very cautious how they put to sea when the wind suddenly changes to the south-east, with gusts and squalls, accompanied by a falling barometer;—for these combined symp-

toms indicate a coming storm. If the ships then put to sea with a fair wind at east or south-east, that is, during the first half of the storm, they will find the wind veer upon them to the south, south-west, and west, in the latter half of the storm. Thus they may encounter foul winds and bad weather while still entangled amongst the narrow seas and channels of the British islands. We believe that a neglect of these precautions is one of the principal causes of the many disastrous losses by shipwreck on the southern and western coasts of England and Ireland. The great gale of Sunday night, the 6th of January 1839, when so many ships were lost at Liverpool, is a remarkable case in point.

We may mention a very curious and important circumstance which occurred during the furious gale of the 29th October 1838. The Royal Adelaide and Leith steamers were both off Flamborough Head on the morning of Monday the 29th, when the storm was raging. One of these vessels, as it appears, steered to the north north-east and continued in the gale for ten hours, while the other, by steering to the southward, remained in it only three hours. Now, we know from the facts collected in the Nautical Magazine for February 1839, that the progress of this storm was to the north north-east, which satisfactorily explains the above facts.

There is one point in practice of which every narrative in these books shows the importance, and to which we are most desirous of drawing the attention, not only of nautical men, but of the owners and underwriters of ships also. We allude to the indications of the marine barometer; an instrument absolutely invaluable, because it gives warning of physical changes in the atmosphere. These when taken in conjunction with other meteorological circumstances may almost always be turned to useful account; either in avoiding a gale, or in preparing for it, or in running out of it, or by making or shortening sail in due time. So strongly are we impressed with the primary importance of this instrument that we should earnestly counsel underwriters to require that every ship insured by them be provided with one.

Colonel Reid with his usual anxiety to give every one his due share of credit states, that we are indebted also to Mr. Redfield for the true explanation of the rise and fall of the barometer. And certainly we have no where seen the probable effect on the barometric column, exposed to the action of a whirlwind (which we may now fairly suppose all great storms to be), so clearly pointed out as in Mr. Redfield's Reply to Mr. Espy, and in his Meteorological Sketches. He there shows that the atmospheric pressure must be at the least in the centre of such a vortex, and that it must increase as the outward limits are reached. He even

supposes that the barometer may stand higher than its ordinary level, and not beyond the verge of a storm; and he has communicated to Colonel Reid (p. 418) that when the great hurricane of the middle of August 1837 was passing, he observed the barometer at New York considerably above thirty inches!

"I would explain," says Colonel Reid, "the fall and rise of the barometer, by taking a tumbler three quarters full of water, and then making the fluid whirl round by a tea-spoon. Then hold the glass to the light, and the surface of the liquid will be seen in the form of a cone reversed. Sections across this cone will indicate the fall and rise of the mercury in the barometer."

We have only further to add on this part of the topic, that the indications of the barometer in the southern hemisphere are just the reverse of those in the north, and in all cases strictly in accordance with the rotatory theory. The extracts given by Colonel Reid from Captain King's sailing directions for Tierra del Fuego, p. 369 to 372, show this important fact.

Colonel Reid says in his book that throughout his investigation into storms he has been desirous of avoiding mere hypothesis: and we think he has done wisely to employ his principal strength in collecting and arranging facts from every quarter, in order to form a substantial basis for those generalizations of which every page of his book shows the practical importance. But he has also favoured us with many valuable hints both theoretical and practical, which we recommend not only to the attention of scientific men on shore and afloat, but to navigators in every part of the world.

Now too that our attention has been awakened, and that we have satisfactory evidence that *some* storms are rotatory and progressive, it is fair to infer that all or very many others may be so also; nor would it be difficult to bring this to the test of experiment in the case of ordinary squalls. Suppose, for example, that three ships were in company and sailing south, on the starboard tack with the wind at west, and that a squall was seen coming down on their weather-beam. If the centre of the three were to lie-to in such a position as to bring the centre of the squall just upon her, while the headmost ship stood on so as to place herself abreast of the *southern* quarter of the squall, and the sternmost ship by tacking got in a line *with its northern* side, the rotatory character of the squall, if such exist, might be ascertained at once by actual observation. If its laws are the same as those of hurricanes and other great storms, and the experiment were tried in the northern hemisphere, the middle ship, or that which lay-to in order to receive the squall full upon her, would be taken aback with the wind at south; this would not change in its direction

till the centre of the squall passed over her, when the wind would shift suddenly to the north, and continue so till it had left her again in the general current of the atmosphere blowing from west. The headmost ship would get the wind first from south-west, which, unless she was "boxed off" briskly, might bring her about; then it would draw to west, and so to north-west, till it left her. The sternmost ship, or that which tacked to the northward, would get the wind first from the south-east, then east, then north-east.

There is one point respecting squalls which we have observed so frequently that we think we may call it general, namely, their slow progressive motion compared to the rapid motion of the wind within them; a fact which we could never find any explanation for till Col. Reid's work called our attention to the rotatory theory.

We shall conclude by giving one recommendation as to the preparation of a ship for a hurricane, which we have had the good fortune to hear from the lips of the ablest seaman and one of the greatest officers alive—we mean Sir Thomas Hardy, the veteran warrior, who after a life of constant service and constant distinction, has retired to a situation of leisure which, were he to devote it to the simple record of his own seamanlike thoughts, might render the close of his career as permanently useful as its whole course has been brilliant. Sir Thomas Hardy was in command of the Triumph, one of Sir Richard Strachan's squadron, so many of which were dismasted in a hurricane in 1806. He however saved his masts by striking his lower yards and topmasts; a proceeding which many officers, unacquainted with its advantages or not knowing the facility with which it can be done, even in the largest ships, may not unnaturally shrink from. After the hurricane Sir Richard Strachan, whose ship was disabled, hoisted his flag on board the Triumph, and a gale came on almost equal in violence to the hurricane. Sir Thomas astonished the admiral, who was a perfect sceptic as to the practicability of such a measure, by getting all ready to strike lower yards as the gale increased. He allowed it to be done however, and as the gale moderated he expressed a wish to have the foresail set *as soon as possible*. The fore-yard was instantly swayed up, the sail let fall, reefed, and set almost as quickly as if it had been the foretopsail! Nor were these solitary instances; for we have heard Sir Thomas Hardy say that he was in the current practice of striking his lower yards and topmasts whenever the indications of the barometer, and other circumstances, conspired to give warning of a severe gale. We have reason to believe also that Sir Thomas Hardy was one of the earliest to avail himself of the vast advantages of the barometer; an instrument which, after the sextant,

the chronometer, and the nautical almanac, is unquestionably the greatest boon that science has conferred on modern navigation.

We must not conclude this protracted, but still imperfect notice of Col. Reid's work without calling the attention of the proper authorities to the atrocious system of plunder and absolute piracy, which still prevails, under the name of *wrecking*, in various parts of the world, especially amongst the islands of the Gulf of Florida; a region over which a far greater number of storms pass than seem to fall to its share.

"The interests of navigation and of the social world," he properly observes, "require that a strict control and watch should be maintained over the conduct of the inhabitants of these islands, which border one of the most frequented as well as the most dangerous thoroughfares in the ocean."—p. 127.

These remarks bring to our mind a story which the late Sir Walter Scott used to repeat with great unction, but which he has unfortunately omitted in his amusing journal of the voyage he took amongst the northern islands of Scotland in the Lighthouse Yacht. It appears that the island of Sanda is one of the worst situated for navigation, and the best for wreckers, of any amongst the Orkneys; and the story goes that a worthy minister of that dangerous isle,

"Whose barren beach with frequent wrecks is paved,"

sympathised so deeply with the interests of his flock, that in winding up his prayer for mercy and safety to all mankind, he added

"Nevertheless, *if* it please thee to cause hapless ships to be cast on the shore, Oh, dinna forget the puir island of Sanda!"

It is with grief and shame that we feel it our duty to refer to the scandalous conduct of the wreckers on our own shores who, during the dreadful shipwrecks at Liverpool in the storm of last January, thought only of pillaging the ships, while their crews were left to perish! and had it not been for the admirable conduct of a single steamer, which went out while the gale was still blowing, scarcely a soul would have been saved!

ART. II—*Leçons sur la Philosophie Chimique professées au College de France par* M. Dumas, *recueillies par* M. Bineau. Paris: Ebrard. 1837.

As supplying requisite information in a popular form, we introduce to our readers the interesting course of lectures delivered by M. Dumas at the *College de France* during the months of April,

May, and June, 1836,* and collected and published on the authority of M. Bineau, himself a chemist of some note; and we shall endeavour to give, in a connected outline, such details of the progress of the science and biographical notices of its promoters, as may prove not unacceptable to the public.

The origin of chemistry, like that of some other sciences, is veiled in impenetrable obscurity. It is not easy to determine the primitive import of the word, but it has been traced to *Kema*, the book of secrets given by the *Egregori* to the fair daughters of men when these were seduced to their embraces; by which means the knowledge of the sublime science was first imparted generally. It was however certainly the name of an art of some kind—but the term, it is said, comprehended originally among the Egyptians the whole of natural philosophy, and afterwards implied the working of metals.

Borrichius and Lenglet du Fresnoy, though they do not assert the divine origin of the science, have classed the eighth descendant of Adam, Tubal Cain, the supposed Vulcan of ancient mythology, as the first chemist whose name has come down to us. We shall examine these points presently.

Mankind must have early acquired some chemical knowledge. Ancient writers with one accord, though only from their common ignorance, attribute the origin of chemistry to the Egyptians; and the term has been even derived from the old name of Egypt, *Chemia*, which, according to some, it took from Cham, the son of Noah. Two pretended individuals of this nation signalized as chemists are, Thoth or Athotis, surnamed Hermes or Mercury, the son of Mizraim or Osiris and grandson of Cham; and Sephoas, *styled* king of Egypt, who lived about 800 years after Thoth and 1900 B. C. The latter, to whom the Greeks gave the surname of Hermes Trismegistus, the second Mercury, is regarded as the founder of natural philosophy. The titles of his reputed work on philosophy, which consisted of forty-two books, have been given by successive writers; but it is not known that any of them treated expressly of chemistry, notwithstanding that the science has been termed after him the Hermetic Philosophy.

The Egyptians in truth cannot properly be considered as at any time acquainted with the science of chemistry; but they were early made aware of various chemical facts, and many and indubitable proofs of this have been collected in one or two not inconsiderable works devoted to the subject. Their progress in the manufacture of not only white but coloured glass may be

* We understand that M. Bineau does not intend to publish the course of 1837.

instanced. Seneca informs us that they made artificial gems of extraordinary beauty.* They had a method of purifying natron, and of extracting potash from cinders; they prepared lime by the calcination of calcareous stones, and had an intimate knowledge of the uses to which it may be appropriated, as also that it renders the carbonate of soda caustic. Pliny extols their beautiful pigments;† and Baron Denon's testimony to the durability of their colours on mummy cases is confirmed by our own experience. "The green alone appears to have faded; it is sometimes compounded with the blue, though the blue is metallic, the yellow vegetable. The nature of the white, which is most durable, has not been discovered. The red is very brilliant. Red, blue, yellow, green, white, and black, are the colours to be found either on the mummy-cases or the walls of the tombs."‡

This industrious people understood the art of smelting and working gold, silver, copper, lead, brass, and iron. They had also processes for extracting and combining different metals, and producing alloys and other metallic preparations. Litharge, together with the vitriolic and many other salts, were perfectly known to them. They made wine, vinegar, and even beer. Their method of embalming, whatever it was, may be reckoned among the evidences of their chemical knowledge: the statements on this subject by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus are very unsatisfactory; and there is reason to believe, as it was the object of the embalmers to shroud their art in mystery, that those writers were either totally deceived, or at least that the mummifying drug was artfully concealed from their knowledge.§

The Hebrews, not impossibly, derived what chemical knowledge they possessed from the Egyptians, during their sojourn among them. The great lawgiver of the Jews has been placed

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* Epistle xc. † Lib. xxvi. xxvii.

‡ Pettigrew's History of Egyptian Mummies, 4to. 1834, p. 116.

§ Modern science, it appears, has rivalled the Egyptians even in this art, which has so long eluded the world; and a patent has been obtained in England, and also in Paris, for an improved process of embalming and preserving subjects for anatomical purposes. It is stated that the English patentee addressed a letter to one of the members of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, detailing some curious experiments he had made in order to show the preservative qualities of a fluid which he believed entirely prevented the ordinary effects of putrefaction in animal bodies after death; and inviting the fellows of the society to view the body of a man who died on the 5th and was embalmed on the 9th of November. This communication was accompanied by several specimens of birds—a large Dorking fowl, a pheasant and a pigeon—which had been subjected to the process, and which were found, at the end of more than two months, in a very extraordinary state of preservation; the flesh being perfectly soft and elastic, and not the slightest smell or taint discoverable, although no care had been taken to empty the crops of half-digested food, nor the intestines of feculent matter; nor had the birds been kept otherwise than freely exposed to the air of a common room with a fire in it.

in the number of chemists, from the knowledge that enabled him to dissolve the golden idol worshipped by his people; and dissertations have been written to prove that this solution of gold in water was accomplished by the aid of liver of sulphur, &c. processes which would require a considerable knowledge of chemistry. Our ignorance of the state of science at that time renders incredulity easy, though not always safe, as has been lately proved.

Most of the chemical arts cultivated by the Egyptians spread into Greece: but in following their processes, the latter took little pains to discover the causes of the effects they were able to produce. Their ancient philosophers were not devoted to the cultivation of the physical sciences. Plato indeed has described the process of filtration; Hippocrates 400 B.C. was acquainted with that of calcination; and Galen speaks of distillation *per descensum*. Democritus of Abdera, 500 years B.C., employed himself in researches into the nature of plants and precious stones; and Aristotle and Theophrastus treated of stones and metals. The alloy of metals formed at Corinth has been much celebrated. At Lesbos there was a manufactory of glass; and cinnabar was used in some parts of Greece.

The Chinese historians on this, as on other occasions, have claimed the precedence for their countrymen, representing them as immemorially acquainted with various chemical facts, and among the rest with the knowledge of gunpowder. Be this as it may, at the present day they bring, without theory to guide them, some arts to a degree of perfection that might well nigh sink us into despair: as do also the Hindoos, to whom is attributed the invention of the nitrate powder. To these last we are indebted for many ingenious processes, and their manufacture of dyes eclipses all that can be accomplished in Europe; thus fully demonstrating that it is possible for mere practice, pursued with steadiness and accompanied by judicious observation, or even for simple chance, to lead to more perfect methods than obtained by theory. The Tyrian purple is a remarkable proof of the excellence some nations have attained in particular arts. The genius of Sir Humphry Davy, devoted assiduously to the subject, could not, with all the advantages of modern science and theories, discover the process of manufacturing this dye.

The military spirit of the Romans found little leisure for the cultivation of the physical sciences: indeed the sciences generally owe little to them, whatever the fine arts may have gained. So far from advancing chemistry, they may have contributed to its decline; for it is affirmed by Suidas that Dioclesian caused the books of the Egyptians—who even to his time had sustained their reputation as promoters of this science—to be burned, in order

that he might subdue them with the greater facility; as he imagined they retained the secret of making gold, by means of which they were enabled to resist his power.

The Arabians may be regarded as early cultivators of chemistry; but the science with them had another and more limited meaning—*the art of making gold.* They have been considered the first alchemists simply, as some conceive, for adopting the Greek term Χυμία, *Chymia*, with their own Definite particle *al* prefixed. The invention of the Alembic also has been attributed to them, and on no better grounds: the word ἄμβιξ, *ambix*, was however used long before by Dioscorides.

The origin of the opinion that gold might be made by chemical process is unknown. Julius Firmicus Maturnus, at the beginning of the fourth, and Æneas Blasius in the following century speak of the art as well known.* It was certainly practised by the Greek ecclesiastics, and perhaps passed from them to the Arabians: Suidas appears to have considered the term χημεια implied only the *making of gold.* The alchemists pretended that some traces of it are found in the hieroglyphical books of the Egyptian priests, under the veil of which they concealed their mysteries, and that the temple which the Egyptians consecrated to Vulcan was in honour of alchemy. Others maintained that it was above human capacity, and that it was revealed by God; they styled themselves *adepts*, and affirmed that they were not at liberty to impart the secret, for, if they did, some dire calamity would befal them.

Leaving to the last some notices connected with the Eastern part of the subject, it is only about the eighth century of our era that we can form an accurate view of the science among the Arabians; for near this time lived Geber, of Tus in Khorasan, a province of Persia, author of the most ancient works on the subject which have descended to us; in one of which, the "Summa Perfectionis," he appears to have collected all that was known of chemistry at that period. Written with an alchemical view, the belief in the transmutation of metals and in an universal medicine is plainly indicated. Geber gives indeed his *red elixir*, which is only a solution of gold, (and the same word expresses both,) as a remedy for every disease, and as a means of prolonging life indefinitely and renewing the bloom of youth. To give some idea of the chemistry of Geber's time, we quote the following passage

* A belief that gold could be extracted if not made from certain minerals must have been much more ancient, as appears from a passage of Pliny: "Invitaverat spes Caium principem avidissimum auri; quam ob rem jussit excoqui magnum *auripigmenti* pondus, et plane fecit aurum excellens, sed ita parvi ponderis, ut detrimentum sentiret."—*Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxiii. cap. 4.

from the best treatise written by him, entitled De Investigatione Magisterii.

"To pretend to extract a body from that which does not contain it, is folly. But as all metals are formed of mercury and sulphur more or less pure, (besides these two, Geber recognized a third principle, arsenic,) we may add to them that which is wanting, or take away that which is in excess. To accomplish this, art employs the means proper to each body. These are the kinds which experience has taught us: calcination, sublimation, decantation, solution, distillation, coagulation, fixation, and procreation. As to agents, these are—salts, alums, vitriols, glass, borax, vinegar, and fire."

Chemical knowledge remained chiefly in the possession of the Arabians for a long period after Geber, during which the science was cultivated by several distinguished men, whose names have descended to us; among them may be mentioned Rhases and Avicenna as the first who applied chemistry to medicine. Benalt, a monk, is said to have invented glass in England in the seventh century; and the Arabians at the beginning of the eighth introduced chemistry into Spain. It is said to have come to the general knowledge of Europe during the Crusades; and soon after these expeditions almost every one of its nations became filled with searchers after the philosopher's stone.

One of the earliest known practisers of chemistry in Europe, and assuredly the most distinguished writer on the science of his day, was that redoubtable hero of our childhood's favourite romance—the mighty magician of the old writers—whose name is now recalled to our recollection chiefly with the association of the wonderful brazen head. Roger Bacon was a Cordelier friar. He was born near Ilchester in Somerset, in the year 1214; and studied at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris. In perusing his writings we are struck at the same time with the exactness of his knowledge and its universality, and with a depth of thought scarcely credible considering the time when he wrote. He was acquainted with the mechanics of his day, and his notions on physics are particularly clear; in short, making due allowance for his alchemical bias, we are astonished at the frequent precision of his views, many of which his illustrious namesake and successor did not hesitate at appropriating without any acknowledgment.

The association of the idea of magic with chemistry at this dark period of history, is attributable to their origin and union in the Eastern world; but the notion must have been wonderfully strengthened by the mysterious and hyperbolical statements of the early followers of the art. Credulous themselves, they naturally deceived others. Nor is Roger Bacon free from this peculiar mysticism; and it would require no very great stretch of

imagination, after reading his treatise "De mirabili potestate Artis et Naturæ," where the power of art and nature is curiously exaggerated, to fancy him acquainted with balloons, diving-bells, suspension-bridges, steam-engines, &c.* These overcharged assertions have, not without ample grounds, raised a doubt as to Roger Bacon's claim to the invention of gunpowder, which he manufactured nearly a century before the time of Swartz, generally reputed the discoverer. We learn from the preface to the work quoted below that there are two other remarkable examples of the possession of the same receipt, towards the conclusion of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, which exist only in MS., and have hitherto not been noticed. The first is given in an inedited epistle containing a selection of eighty-eight "experiments," preserved in the Bodleian Collection (Digby MS. 67), and purporting to be translated from Arabic into Latin; it is addressed to one Anselm, by Brother Ferrarius or Efferarius, of whom little is known except what appears by his designation, and that he is claimed as belonging to one of the northern provinces of the Spanish peninsula. The second is found in a manuscript once forming part of the Spelman Collection, and now possessed by Mr. Hudson Gurney,—not in a regular treatise, but in a page of collectanea—traditional rhymes and proverbial sayings,—and is in all probability much older than the era when it was thus jotted down. We give M. Dumas' version of Bacon's receipt in order that our readers may compare with it the two others above-mentioned, which we offer in a note—premising that the chemists, after all, have not found the former susceptible of a satisfactory solution: "Sed tamen salis petræ LURU VOPO VIR CAN UTRIET sulphuris, et sic facies tonitrum et corruscationem, si scias artificium."†

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* These exaggerations are pleasingly noticed by Sir Francis Palgrave, in his interesting little work, entitled, "Truths and Fictions of the Middle Ages—The Merchant and the Friar;" in which the Friar is represented as saying,—"Bridges, unsupported by arches, can be made to scan the foaming torrent. Man shall descend to the bottom of the ocean, safely breathing, and treading with firm step on the golden sands never brightened by the light of day. Call the secret powers of Sol and Luna into action, and I behold a single steersman sitting at the helm and guiding the vessel, which divides the waves with greater rapidity than if she had been filled with a crew of mariners toiling at the oars. And the loaded chariot, no longer encumbered by the panting steed, darts on its course with resistless force and rapidity. Let the pure and simple elements do thy labour. Bind the eternal enemies, and yoke them to the same plough. Make the contraries unite, and teach the discordant influences to conjoin in harmony. Aid the antagonists to conquer each other; and do thou profit by their mutual victories."

† The carbon and the doses, it is seen, are designated in the above in an enigmatical manner; the Spaniard, it will be observed, enters into details:—

"Accipe partem unam, aut libram vel unciam sulphuris vivi, duas libras carbonum salicis sive tiliæ, et sex libras salis petrosi: tere subtilissime in lapide marmoreo vel

But although we concede to Bacon the knowledge of compounding the ingredients constituting gunpowder, we cannot assent to the assertion of Sir Francis Palgrave, that he "had attained the knowledge of the process of *granulation*—so simple, and yet so concealed from his contemporaries, and by which the commixture of ingredients alone obtained its mischievous perfection." It seems extremely improbable that this process, which is not even essential to the manufacture of perfect gunpowder, should have been thought of before the invention of fire-arms; for the more convenient use of which only granulation was necessary. For all purposes to which Bacon could have applied it, it would have been more effective in fine dust than in grains.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to remark, that there is not in any of Bacon's works any real foundation for those marvellous tales of which he has been made the subject. Indeed, in his chief work, entitled "Opus Majus," although he sufficiently evinces a failing shared by him in common with the age in which he lived, in expressing a belief that certain chemists have been able to make the precious metals and discover the means of prolonging life during many ages, he does not intimate that this was to be attained by the intervention of supernatural means, but simply by dint of repeated experiment, unwearied observation, and indefatigable application. Even in his small treatise, "De mirabili potestate Artis et Naturæ," he particularly dwells on the absurdity of believing in necromancy and charms; and mentions various ways in which men may be deceived by jugglers, ventriloquists, &c. But these sound views were not shared by the brethren of his order; they accused him of magic, and he was accordingly thrown into prison.

Several inventions are ascribed to Roger Bacon besides the brazen head: a locomotive chariot, a flying machine, the telescope, camera obscura, &c.

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porfirico. Postea pulvis ad libitum in tunicâ reponatur volatili vel tonitrum faciente. Notandum est quod tunica ad volandum longa debet esse et gracilis et prædicto pulvere optime conculcato repleta; tunica faciens tonitrum debet esse brevis et grossa, et prædicto pulvere semiplena et ab utraque extremitate filo fortissimo bene clausa. Et nota quod in qualibet tunica foramen parvum faciendum est, ad hoc, quod tenta in illo reposita valeat illuminari; tenta vero in ambabus extremitalibus debet esse gracilis, in medio vero lata et prædicto pulvere bene repleta. Nota etiam quod duplex poteris facere tonitrum ac duplex volatile instrumentum, videlicet, tunicam subtiliter in tunica recludendo."

The Speldman receipt is as follows:—

"De mixtione pulveris ad faciendum le Crake. Primo accipe quantitatem quantum volueris de salpetro, et pondera eam per quatuor partes equales. Deinde accipe unam partem ex illis, et contra illam, pondera sulfurum vivum. Deinde divide ipsum sulfurum vivum in duas partes, et contra unam partem ex illis duobus, pondera carbones de salice. Omnibus istis aggregatis, fiat pulvis."

The field of science was at the same time occupied by another remarkable personage, hardly less distinguished than our own countryman, and who also had the reputation of being deeply skilled in the black art, his wondrous feats having likewise furnished the nursery with not a little of its lore. Albert of Bollstädt (or Albert the Great) was born in Swabia in 1205. He joined the order of Dominican monks at Cologne, and became at length bishop of Ratisbon. Like his great contemporary he embraced every department of learning: "Magnus in magiâ, major in philosophiâ, maximus in theologiâ." His works are numerous, but those relating to chemistry are only two tracts. The first is entitled "De Alchymia," in which he gives a distinct account of all the chemical substances known in his time. He likewise describes the instruments then in use, and the various operations they had occasion to perform. The second is on Minerals. The knowledge he displays of the chemical properties of stones, metals, and salts, is remarkable.

One of the works attributed to Albert is doubtful, namely, "Lilium de Spinis evulsum;" and others are evidently spurious, such as the "Secrets du Petit Albert," and the "Traité des Secrets du Grand Albert." The style of these tracts is different from that of Albert, the master of Thomas Aquinas,* and they were doubtless palmed upon him by the alchemists after his death.

Popular belief assigned to Albert also a superhuman agent which resolved his difficult propositions. But instead of a brazen head, he had the advantage of an entire man, called the *Androïde* of Albert; which, M. Dumas shrewdly surmises, may have been a calculating machine, personified by superstitious exaggeration. The wonderful invention, then, of Mr. Babbage may have had a prototype at this remote period!

To give some idea of the feelings with which alchemists were regarded at this time, we quote the following anecdote, describing an achievement which certainly entitled its hero to rank in the same category as Friar Rush.

"Albert invited a certain Count of Holland to dine. To pay due honour to his distinguished guest, he had a table prepared in the midst of the garden. This naturally much astonished the count and the nobles who accompanied him; it being in the depth of winter, and many feet of snow on the ground. But the instant Albert placed himself at the table, the snow disappeared: a mild heat succeeded the rigors of the

* Thomas Aquinas has also left treatises on alchemy, but veiled in a mystery equally profound with that which shrouds his other labours. It is in the works of that theologian that we first discover the combination of astrology with this art.

cold, the trees clothed themselves with foliage, flowers perfumed the air, and myriads of joyous birds vied with each other in their melody. This scene continued during the whole repast. But the moment the dinner was finished, the enchantment vanished, and winter reappeared in all its horrors."

France, too, produced about the same period a celebrated individual, who applied himself to chemistry with great success. Arnold of Villeneuve was born at Villeneuve about the year 1240. His reputation as a physician was so great, that his attendance was solicited by kings, and even by the Pope himself. He was skilled in all the sciences of his time, and was moreover a proficient in Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek. He studied astrology at Paris; and having calculated the age of the world, ascertained that it would terminate in 1335. This prophecy, together with other of his opinions, brought upon him ecclesiastical censures—and the theologians of Paris condemned the astrologer as a heretic, which compelled him to leave France. He died 1313, twenty-two years before his predicted end of the world.

Although distillation was practised long before Arnold's day, he first acquired the knowledge of some of the most important products extracted by this means. He has likewise the reputation if not of discovering spirits of wine, at least of finding out its principal properties. He possessed the philosopher's stone, and gives receipts for making gold, " but in terms unintelligible without being initiated in the enigmatical language in which the chemists hid their discoveries real or imaginary." The most curious of his tracts is his *Rosarium*, which comprises all the alchemy of his time.

But we find a more perfect model in a pupil of Arnold of Villeneuve—Raymond Lully, whose remarkable history is given by M. Dumas, and of this we add an epitome. Raymond Lully was born at Majorca in 1235, of a rich and noble family. After passing the earlier part of his life in dissipation, he became violently enamoured of a beautiful lady. She absorbed all his thoughts. To celebrate her charms he exhausted prose and verse. At length, wearied by his incessant importunities, she, at an interview sought for the purpose, unrobed to him her breast, the subject of his loftiest eulogy, and chilled his glowing passion by discovering a frightful cancer.

Struck with horror and humbled by disappointment, the chastened lover determined to renounce the world: accordingly he distributed his goods to the poor, entered a cloister at the age of thirty, and applied himself to the study of theology, languages, and the physical sciences. Soon after this he conceived the idea of forming a crusade, of which the object, singularly enough, was

the conversion of the Algerines and the abolition of slavery. In order to perfect himself in the language of the country, he employed a Mahometan slave who, having penetrated the intentions of his master, thrust a dagger into his breast. The wound however was not mortal, and the missionary's apostolic zeal was unabated. After having visited and made his scheme known to nearly all the courts of Europe, meeting with little success, he determined to embark alone for Tunis. Here he invited public disputation on religion, but was soon arrested and thrown into prison; shortly after he was put on board ship, and sent to Italy.

In spite of his ill fortune, after a short period the self-willed apostle returned to Africa, and recommenced his preaching, at Bougia; but the populace, incited against him, stoned him to death. Some sailors carried his corpse to his native country, where he was honoured as a saint.

Throughout this stormy and adventurous career, so unfavourable to the cultivation of the sciences, the zealous alchemist produced works worthy of notice, making due allowance for the faults of his age. The multiplicity of these works is one of the reasons which have induced a belief, sufficiently unfounded, that there were two Raymond Lullys—the theologian and the chemist. Raymond was currently believed to have possessed the philosopher's stone. Indeed Robert Constantin affirms that he inspected one of the rose-nobles struck in the Tower of London, out of the gold made by him, in the years 1312 and 1313. Raymond Lully may be said to have formed a school of alchemists; but he gave a useful turn to their labours, for in seeking the philosopher's stone by the *via humida*, and employing distillation as the means, he directed attention to the volatile products resulting from the decomposition of bodies.

Raymond was also the inventor of the Athanor furnace; an indispensable requisite with the old chemists who during their long operations required their fires to be constantly supplied with fuel in proportion to the consumption: to this purpose the Athanor furnace was peculiarly adapted.*

We soon encounter two other alchemists deserving of particular notice. John Isaac Hollandus, and his countryman of the same name, who were either brothers or father and son, were born at

* Perhaps the reader curious in these matters, may not consider the description of this kind of furnace superfluous, although it has long since fallen into disuse. "Beside the usual parts, it was provided with a hollow tower, into which charcoal was put. The upper part of the tower, when filled, was closely shut by a well-fitted cover; and the lower part communicated with the fire-place of the furnace. In consequence of this disposition, the charcoal subsided into the fire-place gradually as the consumption made room for it; but that which was contained in the tower was defended from combustion by the exclusion of a proper supply of air."

Stolk, in Holland, some time in the thirteenth century. Their treatises on chemistry are more useful than others of this period; for they are not only written with clearness, but accompanied with descriptions of their different processes, and figures even are given of the instruments which they employed; from which it is curious to observe that many of the processes generally considered of modern date were well known to them.

A long period succeeds without affording, with the exception of Basil Valentin,—a Benedictine monk, born in 1394 at Erford in Germany, and the first who applied chemistry to medicine in Europe,—one chemist in any thing like the proper sense of the term. Basil Valentin was the author of the "Currus triumphalis Antimonii," in which he taught the art of obtaining antimony: and from his time dates the use of this important mineral in medicine. Alchemists nevertheless abounded; and alchemical adventurers wandered about the country extorting money on pretence of imparting their secret. One of these votaries of mammon may be noticed from his reputation in other respects—viz. Jean de Meun, author of the "Roman de la Rose," who devotes some minor poems expressly to the disinterested purpose of unfolding the process necessary for the formation of the philosopher's stone. Nicholas Flamel may also be mentioned on account of the high celebrity he obtained and the pains that have been taken to ascertain his real—which, it need hardly be added, entirely disproves his reputed—history. It was pretended that he possessed the secret; that he amassed immense wealth, part of which he expended in building houses and even churches; and that he and his wife, feigning death, fled to a far country, became immortal, and possessors of inexhaustible treasures.

The year 1527 was an important era in the annals of chemistry. The first chair was founded at Basil, and Theophrastus Paracelsus was invited by the magistracy of that city to fill it—thus becoming the first public professor of the science in Europe. This extraordinary man was born in 1493, near Zurich. His father, who was a physician, instructed him in physic and surgery. But alchemy was his ruling passion, and he studied it first under the care of Trithemius, abbot of Spanheim, and afterwards of Sigismund Fuggerus. Paracelsus greatly promoted the application of chemistry to the use of medicine. Still he was affected with the usual mania; but, unlike most of his predecessors, abandoning the philosopher's stone he applied himself chiefly to procuring the panacea, and discovering the means of lengthening life to an indefinite period. For in his works he makes a clear distinction between the *panacea* and the *elixir of life*. To accomplish his objects he made essences and quintessences, arcanæ, specifics, and

elixirs. Indeed he was early in possession of the secret of the philosopher's stone, which he learnt, as he asserted, at Constantinople in the suite of the son of the Czar of Russia whilst on an embassy to that capital. A curious chance advanced him to this honour. After having visited most of the universities of Europe, he was taken prisoner by the Tatars, and brought before the Czar, who sent him with this mission.

Paracelsus occupied the chair some time. The occasion of his quitting it is singular enough.

"Although professing chemistry, he likewise exercised medicine. Having been summoned to attend a monk grievously sick, before he undertook the cure, he was anxious to make his market. The patient promised a handsome fee for his services. Paracelsus administered two opium pills, by which a speedy recovery was effected. Cured so rapidly, the monk considered the promised fee too exorbitant, and refused to pay it. A lawsuit ensued; the matter was referred to an arbitration of physicians, who were of opinion that a slight remuneration should content the practitioner, as the patient got well so quickly. Paracelsus, having lost his cause, manifested on the trial a degree of anger which raised an hostile feeling against him, and at last forced him to leave the country."

Deprived of all resources, he wandered about for some time in abject poverty, and died at Strasburg in September, 1541; thus satisfactorily demonstrating the emptiness of the boast which yet he persisted in during his whole life, of possessing the wonderful "elixir proprietatis," which would not only cure all manner of diseases, but enable him to count the number of years to which the oldest antediluvian patriarch attained. He died, it is said, a victim to the jealousy of his rivals, who poisoned him in a debauch of wine, a beverage to which he was much addicted.

The death of Van Helmont, who also gave out that he was in possession of the elixir,* consummated the disgrace of the universal medicine, which was soon, like the philosopher's stone, regarded by all practical chemists as an idle dream. And here may be drawn the line of demarcation between the Alchemist and the Chemist properly so called.

"Indeed it is with unfeigned surprise that we behold, after a long absence, a real alchemist make his appearance in England in the person of Dr. Price, in 1703. This man produced a red and white powder, by means of which he could transmute mercury into gold or silver, at will. He

* The follies of Paracelsus and his school perhaps gave rise to a society which sprung up in Germany at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and styled themselves the Rosicrucians. Of these little is known but the title and the work of the Comte de Gabalis; their number was never ascertained. These brothers affirmed that they were in possession of the secrets of transmutation and the universal medicine, with the science of occult things.

made the experiment before a great number of persons publicly, and at seven different times. The Royal Society of London, who had at first viewed with indifference this experiment on public credulity, found themselves under the necessity, as Dr. Price was a member of their body, of investigating it: they therefore appointed a committee to scrutinize the matter. When Dr. Price found himself necessitated to perform his operations under the eyes of the members of the Society, he pretended that he had no more of the powder, and recurred to other subterfuges. The Society allowed the Doctor time to make his preparations, and the following year challenged a trial of his secret; but the alchemical adventurer terminated the mystery by poisoning himself."

Before taking leave of the alchemists it may be as well to devote a moment to a consideration of their peculiar notions. Imagining that the ingredients which compose gold are to be found in all metals, but so contaminate with various admixtures as to require a high degree of purification to reduce them to their perfect state, they regarded fire as an agent of illimitable power. Nothing could be done without it—with it everything was possible. Through the medium of this element they could render minerals from the earthy into a metallic condition, and the change which the earths underwent warranted, they imagined, the belief of a still higher degree of perfection: they thought that by means of fire, if properly conducted, they might bring the baser metals to a much more perfect state—indeed, transmute them into gold. But they believed that this purification could be instantly accomplished by a substance which they called lapis philosophorum, and this was the great object of their researches.

But notwithstanding that the successors of Paracelsus, with a few exceptions, aimed at the real advancement of chemistry, and that this had obtained a footing among the sciences by being taught in the universities, more than a century elapsed during which little progress was made. Nicholas le Fevre may be noticed as among the first who formed anything approaching to independent views. After having held the professorship of the *Jardin des Plantes* for some years, he was invited to England by Charles II.,* who entrusted to him the laboratory established at St. James's, on occasion of the formation of the Royal Society, which received its charter from that sovereign on the 15th of July, 1662. Besides being Royal Professor of Chemistry, Le Fevre was Apothecary in Ordinary to the witty monarch, in which capacity he was required by his majesty to make up the preparation called "Sir Walter Rawleigh's Great Cordial," and which was

* James II. according to M. Dumas. But errors such as this which occur in the work may not be attributed to the author, as the highly popular lecturer did not publish it himself.

only another name for an universal medicine, as it comprised every disease within its healing influence. As some of our readers may not be aware that the illustrious knight was famous in the arts of pharmacy, we give below, in spite of its length, the receipt for the benefit of modern practitioners; first observing that it is not exactly as originally written, but with the added wisdom of some one or two succeeding generations; for we are told by Le Fevre, in his Discourse upon this wonderful cordial, "that by the counsel and approbation of Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir Alexander Fraiser his majesty's chief physician, the flesh, the heart, and the liver of vipers have been added to the number of the ingredients of this remedy, though the first prescription doth not mention them."*

A detail of the opinions of La Fevre would hardly be worth the space, but we quote the following to show how difficult the chemists found it, at this time, to keep within the trammels of Aristotle.

"The peripatetians found in the flame of wood while it burns, in the smoke which exhales from it, in the water distilled thence, and in the cinders which it leaves, the four natural elements of bodies. But in the opinion of La Fevre this mode of destruction did not develope all the (first) principles of matter. It was necessary to seek them in the products of distillation. Now what did he obtain, whether in distilling wood, or any kind of vegetable or animal matter? He saw gas disengaged which he mistook for air; he collected an aqueous liquor charged

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* "Recipe rasuræ cornu cervi libram unam; carnis viperarum cum cordibus et hepatibus uncias sex; florum boraginis, buglossæ, roris-marini, calendulæ, vetonicæ coronariæ rubræ, roris solis, rosarum rubrarum, et sambuci, singulorum libram semissem; herbarum scordii, cardui benedicti, melissæ, dictamni cretici, menthæ, majoranæ, betonicæ, singularum manipulos duodecim; granorum kermes recenter in rob redactorum, cubebarum, cardamomi majoris, baccarum juniperi, maceris, nucis myristicæ, caryophyllorum, croci, singulorum uncias duas; cinnamomi acutissimi, corticis ligni sassafras, flavedinis malorum citriorum et aurantiorum, singulorum uncias tres; lignorum aloës et sassafras uniuscujusque uncias sex; radicum angelicæ, valerianæ, carlinæ, fraxinellæ seu dictamni albi, serpentariæ virginianæ, zedoariæ, tormentillæ, bistortæ, aristolochiæ longæ, rotundæ et cavæ, gentianæ et imperatoriæ, singularum unciam unam et semissem. Omnia incisa et grosso modo contusa in vase idoneo posita cum spiritu vini rectificato extrahantur secundùm artem. Tincturæ filtratæ in extractum mediante, in Mariæ balneo, distillatione evaporentur. Magma expressum comburatur; cineres reverberati per aquam elixivientur, unde sal purum lege artis paretur, quod extracto misceatur. His ità peractis, huic extracto adde, ut artis est, pulverem sequentem cæteraque ingredientia. Recipe lapidum bezoardicorum orientalium et occidentalium verorum uniuscujusque unciam semissem, magisterii solubilis perlarum orientalium uncias duas, magisterii solubilis corallorum rubrorum uncias tres; boli orientalis, terræ sigillatæ veræ, unicornu mineralis, cornu cervi philosophicè præparati, et cornu cervi calcinati, singulorum unciam unam; ambræ griseæ electissimæ in essentiam redactæ unciam unam; moschi orientalis optimi essentificati drachmam unam et semissem; croci solis cum tinctura antimonii Basilii Valentini parati drachmas duas; sacchari candisati albi subtilissimè pulverisati libras duas. Ex his omnibus mixtis et ex arte unitis fiat confectio verè regia, quæ ad usum reservetur in pyxidibus apprimè clausis."

with acetic acid, which afforded him at the same time water and spirit; for vinegar was considered by the old chemists an acid spirit. He obtained also another liquor of an oleaginous appearance, and of an inflammable nature, which presented to him oil or sulphur. In short, in the residuum he found a charcoal which by combustion resolved itself into heat and cinders, thus furnishing the two last principles. Treated by water, they separate in effect into two parts; one soluble, salt, the other insoluble, earth. Here then we see water, spirit, oil, salt, and earth, first products of the decomposition of bodies, which a chemistry more advanced has been able to decompose in their turn."

But we must trace almost another century before we discover the real basis of a science which is the delight and astonishment of the present day. Still distinguished men were not wanting during this period;—and the most remarkable—the illustrious Beccher and his disciple Stahl—deserve a particular notice.

John Joachim Beccher was born at Spires in 1635, and appears to have been of Jewish extraction. After being physician to the Elector of Mentz and also to the Elector of Bavaria, towards the end of his life he went to England, and died in London in 1682, in great poverty it is said. His work entitled "Physica Subterranea" is the best treatise up to this time; indeed he may be regarded as the first who really guided the researches of the chemist into the right channel.

George Ernest Stahl was born at Anspach in 1660. As a physician he acquired considerable celebrity. He was successively first physician to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar and to the King of Prussia. Almost from infancy he had imbibed a violent passion for chemistry, and at an early age could repeat the whole of the "Chemia Philosophica" of Barnerus. He applied himself particularly to the writings of Beccher, and was the commentator of the "Physica Subterranea," which he characterizes as an "opus sine pari." His works manifest a vast genius, and display great brilliancy of imagination; but his style is hard, and his writings, especially the last volume of his "Principles of Chemistry," present moreover a novelty of which it is difficult to find in science another example. Latin and German are continually intermixed, the German and Latin and Latin and German words succeeding each other in violation of every rule. As it would be impossible to form any idea of this compound without having a portion of it presented to our eyes, we subjoin a short specimen. He is describing the action of sulphuric acid on marine salt, and the characters of the sulphate of soda which results from it: "Ex hujus deinde remanentiâ seu capite mortuo, woraus der spiritus salis getrieben worden, bleibt ein novum concretum salinum Zurücke compositum ex alcali salis et acido

vitrioli . . . . . id est sal mirabili Glauberi, welches eine brüchige, fragilem et friabilem mollem consistentiam hat, aquam abundantem, feucht, daher es im Feuer ebullirt wie Alaun."

Stahl is best known as the originator of what is called the phlogistic theory, which perhaps cannot be more concisely stated than in the following extract we give from M. Dumas.

"According to Stahl the oxides are indecomposable; the phlogiston* unites with them, and the metals are produced by this union. The metals consequently contain phlogiston, and still more carbon. All combustibles are more or less charged with it. During the time a body is burning it disengages phlogiston; and the more inflammable a body is, the more it disengages. If the oxide of lead, heated with charcoal, passes into a metallic state, it is because the charcoal in burning abandons its phlogiston, and the oxide possesses itself of it. In short, in the opinion of Stahl, a series of oxides produced by an oxidation more or less advanced, represents a metal more or less dephlogisticated."

M. Dumas compares this theory with the notions of the present day.

"In a word, the theory of Stahl does not differ from ours, except that its author saw combination where we see decomposition, and *vice versâ*. Stahl would not have failed to rectify these ideas if he had paid attention to the indications of the balance; for if we take account of them, an insuperable objection presents itself at the instant. Lead, which oxidizes and which is dephlogisticated, according to the theory of Stahl, augments in weight; the loss of one of its principles gives it additional weight. On the other hand, oxide of lead reduced by charcoal gains phlogiston; consequently it should weigh more than before its reduction, but it is diminished in weight."

Considerable merit also is due to Stahl, not only for discovering indecomposable bodies different from the elements of Aristotle, which some of his predecessors even from the time of Paracelsus had manfully combated and of which we have given a recent example, but also for having actually consummated this revolution in ideas.

With only mentioning Boerhaave, Margraaf, the eccentric Rouelle, and Macquer, we hasten to the period when three illus-

* It was supposed that Phlogiston was the general inflammable principle; that is to say, that a certain something, called *phlogiston*, forms a part of all combustible bodies, and that its separation constitutes *fire*. This principle was never strictly defined, and might therefore be adapted to all the ordinary phenomena:—"Sometimes," says M. Lavoisier, (who, it need hardly be stated, exploded this doctrine,) "this principle has weight, and sometimes it has not; sometimes it is free fire, and sometimes it is combined with the earthy element; sometimes it enters the pores of vessels, and sometimes they are impervious to it; it explains at once causticity and non-causticity, transparency and opacity, colours and the absence of colours. It is a very Proteus which changes form at every instant."

trious men, of very different fortunes and destiny, almost simultaneously threw an effulgence of light upon the science, and contributed above all others to its advancement; and who indeed may be said to have laid the foundation of the beautiful superstructure which has risen in our own time. These were Scheele, Priestley, and Lavoisier.

Charles William Scheele was born at Stralsund, Swedish Pomerania, in 1742. Though of humble parentage he was sent to college, but, it is said, made very little progress in learning. Seeing no prospect of succeeding in the walks of literature, his friends apprenticed him at the age of thirteen to an apothecary at Gottenburg. He displayed considerable zeal in his profession, but did not develope any particular talent. Chance threw into his hand a work of Neuman's, a pupil of Stahl; he perused it with care, and with this book alone commenced the study of chemistry. Following the bent of his inclination with steadiness, he availed himself of every possible means of instruction in his favourite science. Kunkel's Laboratory was his favourite book. He was in the habit of repeating experiments from it instead of retiring to rest. One night, while occupied in making pyrophorus, a mischievous fellow-apprentice put some fulminating powder into the mixture. The loud explosion which ensued alarmed the whole family, and the luckless chemist was of course discovered. But in spite of the calls of a daily occupation, and restrictions on his midnight studies, he completed his education in a science which he was one day to enlighten, and in silence prepared his greatest works.

Having made some important discoveries he repaired to Stockholm. Disappointed in his first overtures with the Academy of Sciences of this capital, he quitted it, and repaired to Upsala, where Bergman professed chemistry with great success. Chance brought this great man in contact with the humble apothecary; he discovered his talent, and formed a lasting friendship with him. Bergman sought every means to establish his young friend; the direction of some manufactories belonging to the state was offered him; the King of Prussia endeavoured to attract him to Berlin. But fearing everything which might distract him from his favourite pursuit, the votary of science sought a retirement where he might isolate himself from the world. He was informed that at Kœping, a small village in Sweden, there was a shop in possession of the widow of a deceased apothecary, of some wealth. He quickly repaired to the place, made the necessary arrangements, and established himself with the widow. But instead of a life of ease and tranquillity he met with one of labour and disappointment. The estate was loaded with debts, and the widow possessed nothing. Nevertheless the luckless chemist applied himself cheerfully to

labour, dividing his time between his researches and the duties of his shop. By dint of indefatigable industry he gained 600 livres a year, 100 of which he reserved for his personal wants, and devoted the rest to science.

From his obscure situation, the discoveries of Scheele might have remained a long time in oblivion: but they found an echo in Bergman, who patronized him with zeal. As soon as Scheele from his retreat announced a discovery, Bergman hastened to propagate it to the world, taking upon himself the charge of publishing his treatises: and whilst his own countrymen were almost ignorant of his existence, his renown, thanks to the correspondence of Bergman, spread through the rest of Europe.

"It is related that the King of Sweden, in his travels to a foreign state, hearing Scheele incessantly spoken of as a great genius, was touched that he had done nothing for him. He considered it only consulting his own honour to bestow a mark of esteem on such a distinguished ornament to his country, and determined to enrol him in the list of knights. The minister, commissioned to confer this title, hesitated. 'Scheele, Scheele,' he exclaimed, 'is it possible!' The command, however, was peremptory, and Scheele was dubbed a knight. But you may anticipate the sequel: it was not Scheele, the illustrious chemist, the honour of Sweden, but another Scheele, who was the object of this unexpected favour."

But the great chemist was arrested in his modest career when there seemed a fair prospect of his enjoying the fruits of his labours. His last works were ready for publication, the debts of his predecessor were paid, and his reputation was established: a malignant fever, which lasted four days, terminated fatally. He died in 1786, in his 44th year; Bergman having died two years previously, in his 49th.

As if during the whole of his life he had a presentiment that his time would be short, Scheele was resolute not to lose one precious moment.

"The President de Virly and d'Elhuyart went to see him towards the end of his short career. They found this man, whose reputation had attracted them so far, and to whom they had come to pay so touching a mark of respect, at work in his shop, with an apron on; as soon as he had learnt the object of their visit he resumed his duties with admirable simplicity. During some days they passed at Kœping they invited him to dine; the meal finished, he returned to his labours, and the travellers did not fail to follow him."

We are indebted to Scheele for the discovery—among others—of a multitude of organic and mineral acids:—the tartaric, fluosilicic, manganesic, arsenic, molybdic, lactic, mucic, tungstic, prussic, citric, and gallic. We owe to him the discovery of chlorine

and barytes. Indeed, it would be necessary to pursue him through all parts of chemistry to form an adequate idea of his researches. Almost without means, his ingenuity and perseverance surmounted every obstacle. Duly to appreciate his labours we must take a view of his laboratory, which consisted of

"A few retorts, crucibles, or vials, beer-glasses, and some bladders, and the most indispensable necessaries. He had no gas jars; drinking-glasses performed their office. If he wished to collect gas, he attached a bladder to the neck of a vial, or the beak of a retort, in which the gas was disengaged. The bladder being full, he fastened the neck with a packthread. If he wished to employ the gaseous product he loosened the fastening compressing the bladder, and submitted the gas to the experiments which his curious mind suggested."

We come now to that extraordinary man who, in the midst of religious polemics, devoted himself to chemical science with consummate success; the discoverer of all the principal gases—who solved the question raised with respect to Raymond Lully, and proved that it was possible for a man to be a profound divine and a successful chemist. As Dr. Priestley's labours are better known perhaps than his history, we recal the outline of this latter to the reader's recollection, more especially as the peculiar incidents of his life, on more than one occasion, led to his discoveries; this too induced a belief, in which he all along persisted, that we are more indebted for the progress of science to chance than to laborious research.

Dr. Joseph Priestley was born at Fieldhead, near Leeds, in 1733. His father, a cloth manufacturer, destined him for his successor; but a religious fervour, which it is said he had imbibed from his mother, hurried him upon a more agitated scene. He was brought up in the principles of moderate Calvinism. Imagining that grace failed him, he gave himself up occasionally to a melancholy and profound sadness. That he might study more deeply the Scriptures, he learnt the Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic languages. He was already acquainted with Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and French. Gifted with a wonderful memory, he acquired languages with great facility.

At the age of twenty-five he commenced his ecclesiastical career at Needham, where he met with little success. His Socinian opinions had already raised him many enemies. He went to Sheffield, where he encountered similar opposition. At Nantwich he met some encouragement, and formed a little school: here also he procured an electric and pneumatic machine; and laid the foundation of that scientific education which afterwards became so fruitful.

In 1761, about the age of 32, he commenced his scientific

career. In a journey he made to London, chance brought him in connection with Franklin, and the conversation of this great man inspired him with a desire of studying the electric phenomena. He now conceived the first thought of his History of Electricity, purchased the necessary books, and commenced immediately. But the many doubtful questions which presented themselves soon determined him to make those grand experiments which established his reputation.

In 1767, having been nominated pastor of a chapel at Leeds, by a curious chance he took a lodging near a brewery. The facility induced him, as he said, in order to amuse himself, to make some experiments on the carbonic acid gas disengaged during the fermentation of the beer. Soon after, having changed his lodging and finding himself deprived of this convenient resource, he conceived the idea of producing the gas himself. He discovered the proper method of collecting it; and was led to the invention of the pneumatic apparatus by which we are enabled to collect and operate upon the gases.

When Dr. Priestley commenced his labours, the phlogistic system was admitted everywhere. Only two of the gases were known—the carbonic, which was called *fixed air* (discovered by Dr. Black), and hydrogen, which was distinguished by the name of *inflammable air*. Dr. Priestley began by studying these two bodies, and made a multitude of useful observations. He soon recognized the existence first of azote, then of deutoxide of azote. The discovery of this last, and of the action which it exercises on the air which has not been deprived of oxygen, was a source of real pleasure to him. Until now indeed he had only respiration itself as a reactive to ascertain in what degree an air was respirable: he was obliged to use mice, which he introduced successively in order to try the air, until they could no longer exist. His experiments, though sufficiently destructive of these animals, were nevertheless useless. In seeking to assure himself if the deutoxide of azote, which afforded him a means of analysis less murderous and more prompt, would also be more exact, Dr. Priestley was enabled to ascertain the singular antiseptic properties of this gas. Having put some mice into a vessel where there was a quantity of deutoxide of azote, and forgotten it, he was astonished to find on examining them after the lapse of some days, that there was no sign of putrefaction. A short time afterwards he discovered the muriatic acid gas, and next the ammoniacal, previously known in a state of solution; the first under the name of spirit of salt, the second under that of spirit of sal ammoniac, or of volatile alkali: after them, the protoxide of azote, sulphurous acid, and lastly oxygen. He drew this gas from the oxide of mercury in August,

1774; but it was not till the March of the following year that he ascertained its property of sustaining respiration, and its action on the veinous blood. A little later, the fluosilicic acid gas and the carbonic oxide gas were prepared by him for the first time. Besides these nine gases of which Dr. Priestley discovered the existence, we may add three others;—the sulphuretted hydrogen, the oleifiant, and the phosphoretted hydrogen—thus including the principal gases of any importance in science or the arts. These are some of the wonderful discoveries of a man scarce known and appreciated for his contributions to science at the present day;—discoveries which duly to value we must consider the time at which they were made—a period when the most common gases were unknown. "It is necessary to recal these times, in order to attach due interest to the various experiments to which Dr. Priestley subjected these bodies, so strange and so new to science. His labours on the gases and the air threw an unexpected light upon the most vulgar phenomena." It would seem that his scientific works were buried beneath the multitudinous volumes of his polemics.

To pursue the history. Quitting the calm pursuit of scientific research, the chemico-divine now threw himself into the arena of politics. In the name of the Unitarians he clamoured for liberty of conscience for all religions. This drew upon him the jealousy of the government, little disposed at that time to look placidly on innovations. The French revolution had commenced. The boldness with which Dr. Priestley advocated religious liberty, gained him in France the reputation of being an ardent republican. They bestowed upon him the title of "French citizen;" and the department of Orne elected him deputy to the Constituent Assembly. He had the good sense (like Wilberforce when the same equivocal honour was vouchsafed to him) to resist these overtures; but nevertheless he was regarded in England as an innovator. To such a degree was party feeling manifested against him, that his name used to be chalked, with opprobrious epithets, on the walls of the streets of Birmingham. On the 14th of July, 1794, some inhabitants of the town having given a dinner on occasion of the anniversary of the French revolution, a seditious letter was circulated in the evening and was attributed to Dr. Priestley. An excited mob, after burning the house where his supposed political friends were assembled, proceeded to his own residence, where he was sitting in the bosom of his family, unconscious of the peril which awaited him. Some friends, anticipating his danger, came in time to save him. Hidden in a neighbouring house, he had the mortification of beholding his library destroyed, his in-

struments broken, and his dwelling in flames: but he surveyed the scene with a calmness highly creditable to his philosophy.

Leaving this scene of persecution he came to London, whence, after passing three years in tranquillity, he embarked for America. He purchased a piece of land; and there, under the protection of president Jefferson, passed peaceably the remainder of his days, which were soon lamentably terminated. He was poisoned at a repast with the whole of his family, in consequence of an accident which has never been satisfactorily explained. It proved fatal only to himself, who, now old and enfeebled in frame, could not survive the violent inflammation of the bowels occasioned by the poison.

We now come to the last but not least of the three contemporaries.

Antoine Laurent Lavoisier was born in Paris, August 16, 1743. His father, who possessed considerable property, acquired in trade, sent him to Mazarin College, where he studied the sciences with the utmost ardour, and made great progress in mathematics, astronomy, botany, and chemistry.

Lavoisier was some time undecided as to the route he should pursue; he succeeded equally in his mathematical studies and in the natural sciences. Guettard had inspired him with a taste for geology, which he pursued with great success. About this time the Academy proposed, at the solicitation of the government, a prize medal for the best essay on the lighting of the city of Paris.

"Lavoisier applied himself to the question. After some experiments, he discovered that his sight failed in the delicacy necessary to appreciate the relative intensity of the different flames he wished to compare. Accordingly he shut himself up for six weeks in a chamber totally darkened. At the end of this time his sight acquired an extreme sensibility, and the least variations could not escape him, What an extraordinary devotion to science which could support him, at the age of twenty-two, during a seclusion so long and so severe! The Academy voted him a gold medal on this occasion."

His course was at length taken. He was resolved to devote the whole of his energies to a science, which, notwithstanding the many great discoveries recently made, was still in inextricable confusion. Lavoisier understood his task. He knew that to accomplish it a long and tranquil life was necessary. A considerable income too was indispensable. He sought and obtained an appointment as farmer-general, and soon after married Mademoiselle Paulze, daughter of one of his colleagues. His most sanguine hopes were realized. He could now devote himself to his researches with all appliances and means.

When Lavoisier accepted his new office, he drew upon him-

self the murmurs of the members of the Academy of Sciences, which he had entered in 1768, at the age of 25. "This young man so full of promise is lost to science," was the general cry. And when he made known to the Academy any new discovery, "Ah," said they, "what a pity that he is a farmer-general: he would have done more." But though he performed steadily the duties of his important office, he devoted the greater portion of his time to a science which—if his career had not been prematurely terminated—he must have still further advanced. The phlogistic doctrine had fallen at his touch. The dephlogisticated air he proved to be a simple body—

"That which combines with metals in the process of calcination—that which transforms sulphur, phosphorus, and carbon into acids—that which constitutes the active part of air; which nourishes the flame that gives us light—the fire which warms us;—that which in the respiration of animals changes their veinous into arterial blood, at the same time that it developes the heat which is necessary;—that which forms the essential part of the crust of the entire globe, of water, of plants, and of animals."

But to avoid anticipating we give an account of two or three amongst the not least interesting researches of Lavoisier.

He appears to have been the first who clearly demonstrated, that in heating brass in a closed vessel a portion of the air combines with the brass, which consequently passes to the state of oxide; that when a considerable portion of the brass is oxidized, the rest of the metal remains pure, even although the vessel still contains a considerable quantity of air, and the heat is continued; for the air thus deprived of its oxygen cannot unite itself to the remaining metal; therefore the quantity of oxide formed must be in proportion to the size of the vessel. Thus a portion of the air disappears, whilst the metal augments in weight by the calcination, and the fixation of this air explains the augmentation observed.

In 1777 Lavoisier completed his analysis of the air. Availing himself of the property possessed by mercury of oxidizing at a certain temperature and of losing its oxygen at a higher state, he was enabled by its aid to remove the greatest part of its oxygen from a determined volume of air. Having thus isolated the azotic gas, he heated the oxide of mercury produced, and collected the oxygen separately. In mingling again the two gases, he re-constituted the atmospheric air, the same in all its properties, and in volume equal to that which he had employed.

Lavoisier's hypothesis of heat is curious; but his conclusions are sometimes incompatible with experiments made by Sir Humphry Davy.

" He first proved that heat accumulated in bodies does not alter their weight; it should therefore be considered an imponderable fluid. This fluid presents itself under two forms—the free state, *i. e.* a state of continual movement, tending to put itself in equilibrio in those bodies which are near that which contains it; but sometimes it is combined and in repose. When it is free, its presence is discovered by its action on the thermometer; but when it is combined, the thermometer is insensible to its action. Proceeding upon this, he ascertained that when a body is transformed into vapour, it absorbs a great degree of heat; as water, alcohol, and ether. He discovered that when the evaporation is most rapid, the absorption is most manifest. Thus vapours are liquid or solid bodies transformed into gas or elastic fluids, by imbibing a great quantity of heat. He wished decisively to enforce, that vapour is absolutely of the same nature as gas. To demonstrate this identity, he devised some ingenious processes. For example, that by means of a tub filled with water, he could obtain ether under the form of gas, and that for this it sufficed that the water was kept at a temperature of 40° (Centigrade). Consequently, if ether is not gaseous at Paris, for example, it is because the temperature is a little too low, and the pressure a little too great. But ether would become a true gas upon the elevated planes of South America. 'What effect then would be produced upon the different substances of which our globe is composed, if the temperature were suddenly changed?' asks Lavoisier. 'Let the earth be transported suddenly into a hotter region in the solar system,' he observes, and soon the water, the analogous fluids, and even mercury itself, would gradually expand, and be transformed into aëriform fluids or gas, which would become part of the atmosphere. The new kinds of air mingling with others already existing, the result would be new decompositions and combinations, until, the new affinities having been neutralized, the principles of these different gases would arrive at a state of equilibrium or of repose.' Thus, in Lavoisier's opinion, vapour is gas or somewhat analogous; and in pursuing these results, he was led to conclude that the gases themselves were originally liquid or solid bodies, reduced to vapour; bodies which, by their combination with caloric, have taken the gaseous form.

" Also in combining oxygen gas with some body which renders it solid, the oxygen gas loses the heat which, at first combined with it, kept it in a gaseous state; and this heat which is lost and dissipated gives rise to the phenomena of combustion.

" Solid bodies then are gases deprived of a part of their heat; and Lavoisier did not fail to draw from it a conclusion which he opposes to the preceding.

" 'If the earth were suddenly transported into a region very cold, the water which forms our rivers and our seas, and the greater number of the fluids with which we are acquainted, would be transformed into solid mountains, into very hard rocks, at first diaphanous, homogeneous, and white as crystal; but which, in the course of time, mixing with substances of different natures, would become opaque stones diversely coloured. The air, under this supposition, or at least a part of the gases which compose it, losing their elasticity, would be reduced to a liquid

state; thus producing new liquids of which we have not the slightest idea.' "

We have given this long extract partly to draw attention and pay our humble tribute of praise to the labours of Dr. Faraday, who has verified some of these suppositions in his experiments on the condensation of the gases.

Lavoisier, according to M. Dumas, laid the crowning-stone of his fame by establishing the composition of water; but we cannot consent to this proposition, inasmuch as our own Cavendish had previously demonstrated the fact; and the component parts were only finally settled by M. Gay-Lussac.

But we have reserved the catastrophe. The bloody tide of revolution engulfed even this votary of science. In 1794 an act of accusation was passed in the Convention against all the farmers-general. Lavoisier was included. The revolutionary tribunal were not wont to make exceptions. They saw in Lavoisier only the obnoxious officer, and they doomed him to the fate of his colleagues. We subjoin the judgment passed on a man who not only had shed such lustre on the sciences, but in his political life had displayed the most unbounded love to his country. He was "condemned to death, convicted as the author or accomplice of a plot against the French people to favour the success of the enemies of France; especially in imposing all kinds of exactions and grievances upon the French people, and in mixing water and deleterious ingredients with the tobacco, injurious to the health of the citizens who use it."

The subsequent progress of chemistry cannot be contemplated without astonishment. Its advancement was greatly facilitated by the reform effected in chemical nomenclature. Guyton de Morveau, in 1782, first drew attention to the necessity of this, and the new system was finally perfected by the joint labours of Morveau, Fourcroy, Lavoisier, and Berthollet. The terms of the alchemists were abolished, and others, founded upon the nature of compound bodies and the leading qualities of elementary substances, introduced. The confusion which had previously prevailed was extreme. The same body had often a great number of names; and the terms in use rested for the greater part on the most distant analogies. "Thus, they said—*oil* of vitriol, *butter* of antimony, *liver* of sulphur, *cream* of tartar, *sugar* of lead; chemists seemed to have borrowed the language of cooks."

The reformed language was introduced in 1787; and though the progressive character of chemistry has rendered necessary some modifications, for which we are principally indebted to Sir Humphry Davy, it has been made to answer the wants of the modern science. The study of chemistry now contained nothing

repulsive to the most fastidious; and its importance in explaining the phenomena of nature drew towards it the attention of the most cultivated minds.

Foremost of discoverers in the history of modern chemistry may be placed our own countryman Dalton, whose *Atomic Theory*, as it is, perhaps not very appropriately, called, has led to a complete revolution in the science. But we must not forget the researches of his predecessors which prompted him to this theory. So early as 1777 Wentzel observed that there are several saline solutions which, when mixed with others, completely decompose each other, so that two new salts are produced. This fact was afterwards noticed by Richter, but did not attract particular attention. Adopting the doctrine of definite proportions, hinted at by Higgins, Dalton was led to speculate on the ultimate elements of bodies; and having demonstrated that a volume of carburetted hydrogen gas and one of olefiant gas contain the same weight of hydrogen, but that the weight of carbon in the latter gas is just double that in the former, this led him to attend to the nature of these elements; and he concluded that they consisted of *atoms* incapable of further diminution or division. He considered it then demonstrated that carburetted hydrogen is a compound of one atom hydrogen and one atom carbon; he inferred that the ultimate particles of all homogeneous bodies are perfectly alike in weight, figure, &c. In other words, every particle of water is like every other particle of water, every particle of hydrogen is like every other particle of hydrogen, &c.;—that moreover these particles, falling into juxtaposition in definite proportions, form compounds, and take, at the moment of their separation, all their first properties.

When this "New System of Chemical Philosophy" was first made known, the conflict of opinions was overwhelming. Several chemists, Sir Humphry Davy among the rest, refused to admit it; and others affected to treat it with contempt. No one indeed doubted that a compound presenting invariably the same character and properties consists of the same constituent parts; but many thought that the theory would impede research by accommodating the results of analysis to its deductions.

The first direct proof of the accuracy of the theory was adduced by Dr. Wollaston, who showed the existence of three salts composed of oxalic acid and potash, the oxalate, binoxalate, and quateroxalate.

The subsequent experiments of Dr. Wollaston, Dr. Thompson, Sir H. Davy (who was soon converted to the doctrine), Gay-Lussac, and above all Berzelius, have elucidated and rendered this theory, in the opinion of most persons, almost certain. But

though universally adopted at home, it is not so on the continent.

M. Dumas proceeds to consider Wollaston's opinions on the infinite divisibility of matter; but he will not admit that either the phenomena of chemical equivalents, or the phenomena of the heavenly bodies, demonstrate the existence of atoms.

"We know that the air is a body, that it dilates in proportion as it recedes from our earth, and we may reason thus: if the matter of the air is formed of atoms, they would experience a considerable separation, but limited; at a certain distance from the earth, an equilibrium would be established between the earth and the most distant atoms, and the atmosphere could not be extended indefinitely.

"If, on the contrary, the matter of the air is divisible to infinity, it would spread throughout space, and condense itself round other worlds, at least those of our system, as it does round the earth.

"Then the moon would have an atmosphere. Now we know that the mass of the earth is much more considerable than that of the moon. We can conceive then, that in order to render the air of our atmosphere in the same state in which it would be at the surface of the moon, it must be carried to a considerable distance from the centre of our globe. If you make the calculation, you find that the mass of the moon could only condense at its surface an atmosphere equal in density to that which would exist at about 2,000 leagues from the earth."

Observations made by Vidal, Wollaston, and Kater, justify the conclusion that the sun has no atmosphere.

"All contest then is impossible. Our atmosphere does not expand indefinitely into space; it is arrested at a certain limit.

"Wollaston considers it proved that the matter which constitutes the air cannot be infinitely divided."

We may observe that before the Trojan war the Phœnician Moschus suggested the idea of those particles. M. Dumas says—

"The first notion of atoms dates about 510 years before the Christian era. About this period was formed at Elea in Greece a school of philosophy well known by the name of the Eleatic school. They reasoned thus. Matter exists; every thing which exists is matter. Annihilate matter, what would remain? Who can imagine?—There would be *nothing*, you say, a vacuum, space. Then *nothing* would exist. Now, if *nothing* exists, it is a being, it is matter, and matter cannot have been destroyed. *Nothing* then does not exist. But if *nothing* exists not, matter is every where, *there is no vacuum.*

"Leucippus opposed this school, and deeming the evidence of his senses of some weight, endeavoured to prove the existence of a vacuum. But in combatting this doctrine it must be acknowledged that he employed singular arguments, and that his experiments are worthy of notice as exhibiting a curious contrast between their utter want of precision and the extreme importance of the conclusions he drew from them.

"Thus he maintained that a vessel full of cinders would contain as much water as an empty one.

"In a word, movement, the existence of which could not be contested, furnished him with unanswerable arguments.

"Leucippus regarded matter as a sponge, the isolated grains of which swim in vacuum. These grains are solid, impenetrable, infinitely small. All known bodies are thus formed of vacuum and plenum. With the material element or plenum, with vacuum, and movement, Leucippus constituted the world. The grains which compose it differ in figure, which explains the differences we observe in the various kinds of matter. Moreover, he admitted, that by varying only their order and disposition, these material elements produce bodies totally different. This is in some measure the isomerism of modern chemists. In short, he takes notice of the composition and decomposition of bodies, and he admits that bodies composed of the aggregation of material particles are destroyed by the separation of these same particles."

Democritus went farther than Leucippus; he maintained that matter is not divisible to infinity.

"If matter could be divided to infinity," said he, "we should arrive at particles without magnitude: particles without magnitude could not produce bodies possessed of magnitude; matter then can only divide itself into limited particles which have magnitude. These particles he called *atoms,* and it was Democritus who invented this word, now so often employed in chemistry."

Epicurus added a third property—gravity—to the two attributes admitted before him—figure and magnitude.

"One of the writings in which this philosopher has unfolded his ideas with more detail had long remained lost, but was found in the ruins of Herculaneum.

"This work formed the basis of the famous poem of Lucretius, in which we find the ideas of Epicurus developed and embellished. Lucretius admits vacuum, atoms, and movement. The atoms, in perpetual agitation, are precipitated in the vacuum. But their fall is not exactly perpendicular; it presents a slight and variable declension, which plays an important part in the cosmogony of Lucretius. With the atoms which float in space, with a movement which impels them, with a fortuitous or side motion which makes them fall obliquely, Lucretius builds the entire world, in all its details. Thus all creation is formed by chance."

These notions, like the other vagaries of the Epicurean philosophy, were little considered till the controversy between Descartes and Gassandi forced them into notice.

"Descartes wished to renew the romance of nature *more antiquo.* Regarding magnitude as divisible to infinity, and applying to matter the same principle, he denied the existence of atoms, and built his system without admitting them. Gassandi, on the contrary, composed the universe of atoms. But these do not even touch. Kept at a distance by the forces which governed them, spaces are left between, and their mass

presents but little solidity. Thus Gassandi has closely approached the ideas of the present day."

Unpalatable as the philosophic world found some parts of the doctrine of Gassandi—his round atoms forming light, those constituting cold, heat, smells, tastes, and even sound—Wolf dished up something more indigestible still, but under another name. His system was gravely discussed in the academy of Berlin, and in 1746 a prize was proposed for the best dissertation on *monades;* but the issue of the discussion was unfavourable to the *monadist.*

" With Wolf every thing is monade. God is a monade. We are monades, as are also our ideas. Monades press before us in space, they become obscure; then we have no clear ideas. But they separate, they brighten; light beams on our senses, and our conceptions become just and precise."

Next came Swedenborg, who admitted in atoms a form generally spherical; but he conceived them to be associated so as to form small, diversely figured masses. " It is then to him we are indebted," says M. Dumas, " for the first idea of making cubes, tetraedes, pyramids, and the different crystalline forms, by grouping the spheres; and it is an idea which has since been renewed by several distinguished men, Wollaston in particular." But the two systems differ essentially.

In the year 1809 M. Gay-Lussac published in the *Mémoires d'Arcueil,* a paper on the union of the gaseous bodies with each other, the object of which apparently was to confirm and establish the atomic theory, by exhibiting it in another point of view. In this paper he endeavoured to show that the gases unite with each other in extremely simple proportions, one volume of one gas either combining with one volume of another, or with two volumes, or with half a volume. He had already established, with M. de Humboldt, the composition of water—which is formed by the union of one volume of oxygen with two volumes of hydrogen gas. He now ascertained by experiment the composition of the ammoniacal salts, of the oxide of azote, of ammonia, of sulphuric acid, carbonic acid, and of the oxide of carbon. Thus M. Gay-Lussac regarded gases as formed of atoms which combine in definite proportions, as Dalton maintained to be the case with bodies in general.

M. Dumas states,—

" My conviction is, that the equivalents of chemists, those of Wenzel, of Mitscherlich, those which we call *atoms*, are nothing more than molecular groups. If I had the power, I would expunge the word *atom* from the vocabulary of the science, fully persuaded that it goes farther than experiment; and never in chemistry should we go farther than experiment."

We now revert to the question of the origin of Chemistry.—Though in this general outline we have thus far accompanied M. Dumas, we must pause for a moment to notice with disapprobation his peremptory but superficial remarks upon some portions of the subject historically, and which by men of far greater learning and research than obviously fall to the author' share, were, and are, held worth consideration. The sneer of a lecturer may pass unscanned, and in safe superiority among his disciples, but when published to the world at large the triumph is by no means so secure. The Fathers of the Church, to whom M. Dumas has sarcastically alluded, were men whose minds could afford to become the objects of his wit, and might have repaid his scorn with interest. They wrote from that which was before them; and as many of the works to which they had access have long since unfortunately perished, reason would counsel us to receive with attention and closely examine the fragments of the past contained in their pages alone, and carefully to collate them with such other notices as we possess, before we presume to attribute to them an ignorance that not impossibly, nor even improbably, rests with ourselves. To an attempt of this kind we feel ourselves imperatively called by some of the preceding passages in this article, however inefficient to the task.

The venerable authorities referred to have preserved a tradition that the book Kema was given by the Egregori to the Daughters of men; and as the fact here alluded to is evidently the same with that mentioned in the 6th chapter of Genesis, verses 2 and 4, we shall proceed to inquire if a collation of the circumstances can throw any light upon the origin of Chemistry, and, incidentally, even upon that confessedly obscure portion of Holy Writ.

The passage in question, v. 2, c. 6, of Genesis, affirms that the Sons of God, or Beni-Alohim, saw the Daughters of men, or Benoth-Adam, " and took them wives of all they chose" of the latter. The Jews from early time, and commentators constantly, have supposed that by the Sons of God, angels were necessarily intended. This interpretation, though generally received is, as generally admitted by scholars, open to question.

It is allowed on all hands that the word Alohim, usually rendered *God*, or *of God*, as in the above instance, is also, and with equal correctness, to be understood simply of Might or Power; of which word indeed it is only the plural form; and in fact often understood by preference in this latter sense: as the wind of God, i. e. a mighty wind; the cedars of God, i. e. mighty cedars, &c.: precisely the same form of expression is preserved in the Arabic also to the present day, and as indicative of any quality in excess. By analogy, therefore, in the passage we are considering,

it would signify Might, or the SONS OF THE MIGHTY. Who are these?

The language of the passage distinctly marks, and in terms that cannot be mistaken, the practice of polygamy thus freely established. And whence did it originate? There can be no question as to this; since, so far as we are informed, it was adopted by Lamech in the first instance; not improbably from espousing the wife of the man he had slain, as appears from the Chaldean paraphrast, in self-defence: (see F. Q. R. No. 35, page 126.) Lamech was the descendant of Cain.

Cain the husbandman, עבר, *agor*, (Latin AGER, a field:) was denounced as a fugitive, נע, and wanderer, גור, *gori*, from his parents, and his posterity remained separated, as the word *niphilim* implies, the apostates, giants, or MIGHTY;—and they are no longer referred to by the sacred historian as the Children of Adam. The genealogy of these occupies the 5th chapter of Genesis; i. e. we submit, the interval between the separation of the races, by the punishment of Cain, and their re-union by the licentiousness of his descendants with the Benoth-Adam; Daughters, not of *Men*, as translated, but of ADAM, as in the original text.

Independent of the probability that the polygamy of Lamech should have been adopted and carried to excess by his vicious descendants, and not by angels, the name preserved, Egregori, countenances this hypothesis; and, since its preservation was never contemplated in connection with the sacred text, confirms it, we think, both incidentally and absolutely.

The Egregori of Chemical History are obviously and undeniably the עברי—גורי, agri-gori, or Husbandmen-wanderers of Hebrew Scripture, the race whose skill in metallurgy and science is so distinctly marked by the names of Jubal and Tubal-Cain—and so fairly presumable farther by the fact that their first ancestor, Cain, was the founder of the first city.

We would further observe that the first fugitive is described as fleeing from vengeance to the land Eastward of Eden—and, wherever we place this, it was to Persian ground. The two ancient languages of Persia, however corrupted, bear out the same sense as the Hebrew, and by a slightly different and derivative etymology, owing probably to their later corruption. Eghre or Aghre, in Zend and Pehlivi respectively, signify mighty, or prone to evil; the Cainides were undoubtedly both; and Khero, Khor, signifying *crime* in the same tongues, seems allied to the Sanscrit Ghur, to oppress or harass.

Thus then the fugitive husbandmen of the Hebrew code were the mighty sinners and oppressors of the land where they flourished; and their improvements in art are given on such unques-

tionable authority that we see no reason to doubt the tradition that they brought the first elements of science to the general knowledge of mankind. In this case, and only in this, can we account for the traditional preservation of the name Egrégori, which collaterally forms the link wanted in the chain of evidence.

The two heathen traditions of this confluence of races have gone to the two extremes of exaggeration. Truth might lie between. The Arabs, following the rabbinical tradition, have formed two Giant Angels; while the Persians have degraded them to Demons, or Deevs, (mighty, sage, powerful,) who offered violence to the Peeris, daughters of light or purity; *(peor;)* i. e. to the daughters of the pure race, the children of Adam and Seth. Both Deev and Peeri, too, suffered under Divine wrath.

By this explanation,—and the coincidences, if of no value, are the more remarkable,—the obscurity of the antediluvian history disappears, and the parts stand in confessed relation to each other. Let us even admit that the only parallel phrase, that in Job, of " the Sons of God," signifies Angels there, yet it would be no authority for the former case; since, as we have seen, the word is freely translated both ways in various instances.

On the subject of writing we may notice, as a matter of curiosity if not of importance, that traditions of both the nations referred to attribute writing to Enoch, though the Arabs confound him with the son of Seth. To the Apocryphal book of this prophet we need not allude: but with reference to the alleged BOOK of Kema, or mysteries, it is singular that the same word, *kor* or *gor*, גר, signifies not only mighty, or leaders, Chald. גרה, but also, written, graved; as in rock: exscidit, כרת, *koreth*, and effodit, קור, *khor*; and כרט, *koreth*, is the pen, or instrument of writing, in Hebrew; while this root appears in the Zend form *ma-gor-ta*, a book; i. e. many letters; Hebrew מקרא, *ma-kora*, reading.*

Could the Korybantes, with their columns of inscribed ceremonials, bear reference to the same double root, *Kori*, the Wanderers or the Lettered, and *phantes*, priests? Their original residence, too, was supposed to be Phrygia, and their especial pursuits astronomy and metallurgy.

The Hermesians also affirmed that the *Koords* were among

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* The specimens here given incontestibly prove that homophonous letters did not necessarily alter the sense in early times; nor probably before the Captivity. Even now scarcely two writers, still less speakers, agree in the *e, h, hh, ch, tch, g, k, kh, q*; of the Hebrew especially; as the grammars show.

See also F. Q. R., No. 39, p. 197, for the Aleph and Oin, &c, interchanged in the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persepolis. In No. 35, p. 141, we have marked the interchangeability of every letter of the alphabet from above thirty languages, and could easily multiply the proofs through three times that number.

Modern sagacity alone has established the incorruptibility of *radicals* of every kind.

the earliest possessors of the arts of agriculture and reading, and preserved a tradition of their descent from the children of Adam.

The same double root is preserved in the Arabic name of Koran, the (book) *to be read*, from the Arabic, (and Hebrew,) *Karâ*, to read; and that of the *Koreish*, (קרש?) the pre-eminent tribe, who largely retained the oldest Zendo-Persian superstitions.

From all these coincidences, too numerous perhaps to be altogether accidental, we may fairly ask whether the race that first introduced settled habitations and music, the arts of life and the science of metals, could yet have been so ignorant of that science as to render the assertion of their possessing it ridiculous? Could the descendants of Tubal-Cain have used the forge for metallic operations, and yet have been ignorant of all the results of combination? Or without laying any stress upon the philological coincidences we have put together, is it in the least extravagant to imagine that the art of writing first occurred to the first cultivated race of mankind, the children, as Holy Writ proves, of Cain?

Nevertheless, we are bound to observe that the chain we have adduced of philological facts tends to bear out the universal voice of tradition, and the positive affirmations of the Hermetics and Chaldeans, that writing was an antediluvian art.

It is only, we submit, from the serious doubt and confusion entailed by the two slight misunderstandings, for they cannot be called mistranslations, of the Hebrew text which we have pointed out, that so strong a reluctance has been everywhere felt to admit the historical value of the antediluvian narrative. With Noah and his family for the connecting link, can we doubt that the arts of the former period were preserved, and their memory retained, though in tradition alone? This, too, simply because those arts were not connected with the religious scheme of the Mosaic dispensation.

But why, we would fain inquire, should M. Dumas indulge in a sneer at the knowledge of the Hebrews? Moses was skilled in all the science of Egypt; and that this, whether original, or derived from, or shared by other nations, was great, no one can pretend to deny. The astronomical science that built the pyramids could not have been the work of a day, but must have descended improving, and therefore must have been preserved by characters; so also the book of priestly names which Herodotus heard read. The Pentateuch establishes the fact that Moses was skilled in science in general: we instance, the outlines of natural history, the laws and observances for health: and these develope a knowledge of anti-septics, and even, though shrouded by religious forms, a process of obtaining potash by combustion. The Arabs indeed, and Segued Ben Musib in particular, distinctly affirm

from tradition his acquaintance with chemistry, rude as it might have been, and his communicating a portion of this knowledge to his successor, Joshua. His scientific terms, as noticed by Prosser* among others, are singularly correct; the short treatise on the same subject by the late Arthur Lumley Davids contains ampler evidence of the fact; and a profounder intimacy of the Hebrews with mensuration than the moderns, until very lately, can boast, is established without a possibility of question by the researches of Captain Jervis, who has demonstrated the correct measurement and perfect concord of the two passages respecting the Brazen Sea in Solomon's time, so constantly ridiculed by the learning of even the last century: a fact we believe, little known, but assuredly one of the most astounding of recent discoveries.

It would be singular too to deny chemistry to the Hebrews, while the words that express its first and obvious requisites are absolutely the very formatives of their language. The etymology of כמה, Hebrew and Chaldaic, is, object; mode of developement: i. e. SCIENCE. Strictly from the formatives, כ.מה, Power in operation.

The derivation of the word Alchemy in Webster's Dictionary is given as the Arabic article *Al*, and *Kimia*, hidden; from *Kamai*, to hide. The Arabic and the Greek word are, however, in all probability differently derived from the same root, above shown: opposite extremes being frequently expressed by the same word, in Eastern languages especially; in this case, the *developement* would imply something *concealed*.

The presumptive evidence of derivation in both the cases cited above, instead of favouring, is, in fact, decidedly against the Arabs, the Greeks, and the vulgar opinion. The term *Ombic* certainly existed in the East long before Geber or Dioscorides: into the works of the latter it may, *by possibility*, have been interpolated, with so very much besides, but it is scarcely doubtful that he borrowed it from Asia. The components of the word show indeed its exact nature; not, *Mixed in one vessel;* as commonly supposed, but, and far better; *Forming by gradual Exhaustion:* i. e. distillation; another instance is in the word Crucible or Cucurbit, by its formatives denoting a furnace-pan.

The conjectures are doubtless partially correct that identify the early name of Egypt with the term, Chemistry; the common root of both referring variously to the *Action* of *Heat*, deemed the Universal Agent in oldest Eastern Philosophy; though a difference might be made between Cham, the arid heat, and כימה, *kema*, the genial and fertilizing warmth.

* Prosser's "Key to the Hebrew Scriptures," explaining every word in the sacred text. A little volume which we can freely recommend to students of the language.

After recent discoveries and the elaborate volumes of Wilkinson we little need to dwell upon this portion of the subject; embalming was known to Egypt in the days of Jacob and Joseph; and bronze and the mystery of the Hermetic *mummeya* are proofs of chemical combination rivalling and exceeding modern skill, and could not have been acquired at once. Their green, too, like ours, was the sole perishable colour.

Laertius affirms that the Egyptians were preceded by the Chaldean sages, whose name Kartumim has been variously derived from astrology, writing, and wisdom, in an era when the three were probably synonymous; and when certainly, as we have noticed, the labours of the first-named science necessitated the use of characters. The same authority affirms, but more suspiciously, that the Magi were indebted for their learning to Chaldea. When we examine historically the facts left by them, few and indistinct as they appear in the ignorant hands of their poetical condenser, Ferdousi, and find the working of gold and silver, the formation of armour by the furnace, with a considerable knowledge of botany and distillation in that remote age, we are scarcely tempted to doubt their degree of skill displayed in times scarcely less remote, and beyond all historical relation, in the mines of the Ural and Altai by the Tchudes, as Ehrenberg's recent travels give evidence; (See too F. Q. R. No. 40, p. 422) where the time out of mind *traditions* of the Chinese and Tatars have been fully verified by the facts discovered, of works scarcely credible did not their remains exist. We would ask too, whether the preternatural skill attributed respectively, and with recorded, and often exaggerated facts, to the Egyptian magicians and the Chaldeans in the Scriptures; to the Magi of Persia and the Deevs in the Shah-nameh of the former, the Mahabharata, Harivansa, and Ramayuna of Hindostan; to the enchanters of the African Dom-daniel, the witches of Thessaly, the Tatar sprites, and the mighty dwarfs of Scandinavia; and even if the Chinese gunpowder and loadstone, do not all more or less evidence a skill in natural magic far beyond the general enlightenment of mankind in any age, and a knowledge of properties and powers of nature that could only have proceeded from chemical and other sciences? The wonder-workers of Egypt, the jugglers of China and Hindostan have from unknown ages to the present day defied the more regular progress of European inquiry; the flexible gold even of our own times, the steel furnished to Alexander by the Indians, [see their process in Mr. Heath's paper in the Athenæum, 1839, p. 172, together with the opinions of Mr. Brande, Lit. Gazette, 1839, p. 155, on the steel of the Egyptians,*]

* "It was explained only by the lights of modern chemistry." * * "Yet there was little doubt that the tools used for forming the hieroglyphics on their obelisks and tem-

establish a chemical skill which it would be idle to question or defend.

The Nabatheans are often confounded with the Chaldean sages, but their existence is demonstrable by the Hebrew Scriptures shortly after the time of Moses. Occupying the northern and western parts of Arabia, claiming the priesthood and even sovereignty of the oldest Egypt, their mystic books contained and concealed the treasures of early science for their Arabian descendants, for whose use 1000 years ago, under the Caliphate of Ben Mervan, some of them were translated by the Nabatheans, Aben Vahashib, &c. The Worship, the Agriculture, the Astrology, the Laws, the Customs, Ceremonies and Sacrificial Offerings of this Hermesian race, recorded by Maimonides, have all to the best of our knowledge, in their entirety unfortunately perished, with all their possible information and monstrous and impossible chimeras; but the wreck still remaining allows us to identify the antiquity of the existence and superstitions of their race, the genuine ancestry of Arabian philosophy.

It will scarcely be questioned, we presume, that the Hermetic philosophers of Arabia, who, as the Nabathæans, extended from the confines of Egypt to the Persian gulf, united the lore and science of Persia, Syria, Arabia, and Egypt. In the scattered but indubitable traces left us of their existence we recognize arts, ceremonials, superstitions, and usages, either borrowed from, lent to, or shared with the above-mentioned limitrophe countries, and in whose fading records they are yet, however imperfectly, preserved. When we recal the known tendency of eastern, and in fact of all ancient nations, to maintain the traditional customs of their ancestors; and bear in mind, on the other hand, the gradual progress of improvement which no pertinacity can ever entirely shut out, and the study of science so unremittingly pursued by the sages of old; we shall probably find little difficulty in admitting, not only the unquestionable existence of the Hermesians in Egypt and Arabia, but the identity of this race in the former land with the descendants of their Arabian brethren in later times. If also we compare the traditional reverence, preserved in both countries to this day, of the wonderful skill in the properties of nature and of the magic powers of their early philosophers, with the absolute coincidences of rites and institutions, already hinted at as found in the sacred and profane Oriental and classical writers, we shall scarcely, we trust, be deemed to draw too largely upon credibility when we affirm the impossibility of denying the claim of the latest

ples were of Indian steel."—*Heath's Speech before Royal Asiatic Society, Asiatic Journal*, pp. 248, 249.

Was not the Roman glass; noticed by Winckelman, Etruscan?

Hermesians to the traditionary descent and knowledge of their asserted ancestors. As the particulars of this race are little known we shall offer a few details, such as time has spared, especially as being connected closely, if indirectly, with the general subject.

Dividing the sovereigns of Egypt into three classes, of which the Coptic princes were the third and the Pharaohs the second, as facts confirm, the Nabatheans assume for themselves the first royal station in chronology, and specify among others their king, Kemas, who wrote on astronomy, physic, and the properties of plants and minerals. They claim the labours of the tombs and catacombs, the pyramids and temples, together with the cultivation of astrology and alchemy from the earliest times. In his valuable work on the modern Egyptians Mr. Lane, no ordinary observer, has justly remarked that in their addiction to alchemical pursuits "a considerable knowledge of chemistry is sometimes acquired;" and this assertion of scientific progress, undeniable now, must have been equally true of their ancestors. Talismans, astrological tablets, secrets of nature and the heavens, magic, fumigations, philtres, compounds; distillation, sublimation, solution, calcination and purifying; crucibles, boilings, alkalis; the trituration, solution, calcination, and composition of stones and gems; sulphur, brass, magnets, vitriol, salts, vegetable salts and waters, medical and poisonous plants and their oils, mandragora, &c. taken above a thousand years since from works confessedly obsolete, and in an almost forgotten language then, attest a knowledge fairly borne out by the relics of Egyptian skill so far as we otherwise possess them. The fact, too, that their terms have been always the terms of chemistry, is in their favour, conclusively.

They divided natural magic, or philosophy, into two parts—1st, the existing properties of animals, plants, metals, and minerals; and 2d, the construction of machinery. Both these were distinguished from supernatural magic, the powers and influences of the seven planets, the twelve constellations, &c. &c.; and though, as Von Hammer observes, there is much that is fanciful and extravagant, there is also much of the formal rudiments of knowledge unquestionably laid down in their writings.

The Hermesian priests were divided into four classes, which the general reader may like to compare with the details of Clemens and others. The first were direct descendants of Hermes, and intermarried with their own race alone. The second, of collateral descent, did the same, but were allowed the use of perfumes and the intercourse of their relations at the commencement of each season, and whenever the sun entered a fresh sign of the Zodiac. The former class enjoyed these relaxations but once a year, with Sol in Aries, and a single festival of twenty-eight days; while

the festivals of the second class were periodical with the seasons, and of seven days each.

Their children were presented by the mother to the priest of the temple, who prayed over and sprinkled the child with water from a golden cup. If it turned towards the threshold it was deemed accepted, placed in a coffin and covered with a green handkerchief (like the houris?) if a girl, or with a red one if a boy. The coffin was closed awhile, and the child's parents and relatives performed their devotions and hymns; the priest then, holding a triple staff, interrogated the young aspirant as to his birth, wishes, sacrifice, and secresy in the name of the Supreme: the child's answers were written down; and next, opening the coffin and purifying it with fumigations, they sacrificed a quadruped or bird; the blood of which was burnt, and the body wrapped up in linen and placed in a pot of earth in the sacrificial pit with secret rites. If the child ever spoke of this ceremony he was ejected speedily, but on some factitious pretence:—if an adult left them, he survived but three days.

At their great festivals seven bulls and seven rams were sacrificed to their seven Gods of the Planets, including the sun and moon; a proceeding which identifies them with the idolatrous ceremonials of Balak and Balaam, the son, or priest, of Beor, and fixes one, and that a very remote, point of their history.

At their sacrifices alluded to, every priest wore the dress of his class and read the holy books; after which they remained prostrate for an hour, and, on rising, the sacrificers successively delivered their divinations, all which were taken down by the priests and compared for a general result. These are considered precisely similar to, if not identical with, the Chaldean Chartumim, and their name, *na-habath*, seems indicative of continued attention, or study, into mysteries, though its original derivation is probably from *na* and *abba*—patriarch chief, or lord; to which the prophetic office, נבא, *naba*, was attached, and the inspired flow of eloquence—נבע. The Na-bathi, or sages, were then the *Vates*, in the double sense of this word, poet and prophet.

The third class of Hermesians admitted some strangers; and the fourth, still more freely intermixed, were peripatetics. These we suspect to have been the Sabæans, as "they first introduced the worship of stars and constellations;" probably as such, and not as intelligences; thus assimilating to the later Magians.

The Sabæans, at least of later times, were not in all likelihood the same as the Nabatheans, for their rites seem more numerous and corrupt so far as we have any means of judging, though most writers have confounded the two.

ART. III.—*Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen.* (Symbols and Mythology of the Ancient Nations, especially the Greeks.) By Friederich Creuzer. 5 vols. 8vo. Darmstadt.

THE work whose title we have prefixed is of so vast and varied a nature, and the researches on which it is based and the comparisons instituted so numerous, complicated, and important, that we cannot wonder at the high reputation it has obtained, abroad and at home; especially where, as in its native land, multiplicity of details and abundance of illustration are even more sought for than the conclusions they are intended to establish. Highly as we ourselves must necessarily value them also, and greatly as we must admire the learning employed in the task, we yet cannot but think that the amassing and arrangement of details is but the first and rudest form of proceeding. It is the undoubted preliminary to the rest; the collection of materials to be employed in the after labour: but we cannot but fear that these gigantic accumulations have injured even more than they have aided the cause of knowledge, by occupying the time of their authors in collecting statements rather than in digesting their consequences, and thus preventing learning and ingenuity from reaping the fruits of their own proper labours.

To these vast and useful displays of erudition and science we feel, as we have stated, every obligation: but if any thing more is intended; if these treasured stores are, as we doubt not, brought forward to produce a yet unobtained and desirable result; if the garb worn by the genius of the past, however valuable in itself, is still more so as marking the outlines of the form that bore it, it is not, we submit, by examining alone the breadth or composition of the garment, by fixing the eye on its eternal folds and the ceaseless and varied play of the drapery, much as these may assist, that we can trace with certainty the real mouldings of the figure beneath. We must, in fact, draw back from too close an inspection, forget the varieties of the several parts in the general effect, and lay down the observer's microscope and the anatomist's scalpel, if the entire, original man is to be comprehended by the open eye. In all writings it is easy to accumulate facts or opinions, but these beyond a certain point only harass the action and the judgment. The true art of all excellence is selection; the true difficulty is only to reject: in the multiplicity of views and labours we may obtain the reputation of learning; in the calm severity of discrimination alone can we ever hope to become really wise.

It is from inattention to this rule which, like every other truth,

is freely admitted and never applied, that we ourselves must attribute the failure of our learned brethren of Germany, in their efforts to find the goal which they seek by so many paths at once. The maze of antiquity is for them indeed a labyrinth; and every apparent turn and opening is sought and explored with an avidity that induces continual deviations from the one straight path of progressive discovery.

It is clearly impossible to give in our narrow limits any thing like a fair view of M. Creuzer's labours beyond a slight enumeration of the contents. The ignorance and information of earliest times; the basis of a grammatical system; remarks on the various physical sources of symbols and mythoi, their various shapes, and the different forms of belief; with an historical view of the earlier and later periods of mythological symbols, constitute the six chapters of his first book. The second book examines the religion of the Egyptians, Indians, and Medo-Persians, in a chapter devoted to each, and, we need not say, developing extraordinary research.

The second volume enquires into the subject of the religion of Asia in the first and second periods, and that of Carthage; the origin of Grecian worship, Pelasgian and Samo-thracian, including also notices of Homer, Hesiod, and the gods of Greece; and embraces the Etruscans and other nations of ancient Italy.

The third and fourth volumes contain the heroes and demons of Greece the Bacchic mysteries, Pan, the Muses, Psyche, Ceres and Proserpine; and the Thesmophoria and the Eleusinia, with their immensity of detail: the work concludes with a general view of the pagan nations and creeds, particularly of the north, and a vast variety of other matter down to the Christian era.

We cannot, it is clear, do justice to this subject; and there is the less necessity for the attempt, since not only is the enquiry suited rather for the abstruse scholar than for the general readers of our pages, but also because the far more simple, clear, and concise volume of our own countryman, the late erudite scholar R. P. Knight, recently reprinted with much judgment in an extremely cheap form, supplies a somewhat similar though more narrow course of enquiry; and is therefore far more acceptable probably to the general taste: to this book we turn.

The same difficulty however meets us at the threshold of both works; and we are fain to enquire whether it is not more probable that the confusion of early times is merely corruption of a previous simplicity, an ignorant and pardonable mistake of history for mythology, of men for demons and monsters, than of an originally refined and subtle system of abstract imaginings. Did, in fact,

the imagination range before the objects of sense had time to affect it, and before obscurity had shrouded the recollections of the past? Did the ideas of man spring from the tangible objects before him, i. e. from perception? or did he commence with metaphysics before he had cognizance of actuality in its most obvious forms? Did he resort at once to imagery and fable to veil the opinions and facts he wished to hand down in his first rude traditions?

Yet such seems the general assumption.

It was remarked, though too boldly, by Newton in his Egyptian Chronology, that the concise tale of kings in Herodotus was much enlarged in the time of Diodorus the Sicilian, and received an immense accession of numbers in the later age of Manetho. The fair suspicion, which recent discoveries however have shown to be incorrect though certainly not in the sense supposed, may yet be applied, and with justice, to the religious system of Egypt. The priests, as we have formerly observed—No. XLII. p. 354,—could read the names of their 330 kings to Herodotus, yet could tell him nothing of those kings; so that beyond an imperfect writing and the existing monuments, the historical knowlege of Egypt was lost amongst those who were set apart to preserve it. And yet we have for 2000 years been believing, and are still expected to believe, that while absolute facts were irrecoverably lost, the finer dreams of mythological refinement, the allegorical customs, the types and shadows in which Egyptian wisdom, or folly, loved to veil its sense among the initiated, were all at once in after ages revealed in full light, and to the uninitiated alone!—that that veil of Isis which no mortal, even a native priest, had undrawn, was raised for the curiosity of the unbelieving Greeks; and that though the mysteries of Eleusis were unprofaned in the time of Horace—vetabo qui Cereris sacra vulgârit—the deeper silence of those more mysterious rites, whose meaning was whispered by the two higher orders of hierophants alone, was freely proclaimed in its original, unexaggerated state for the general ear, by the profane voices of Plutarch, Porphyry, and Macrobius!

It would indeed betray a salutary scepticism to inquire how this discovery, itself the greatest mystery perhaps of all, originated. Did the minor priests reveal the knowledge they had guarded so long; that entrusted to themselves alone? Or did they betray the secrets of the higher orders only?—and how came they by these? Or, and is it not more probable to suppose, did the strangers so freely admitted in later times to imperfect participation of the sacred rites, confuse the doctrines of their semi-information, and leave to the Greek inquirers a mass of unshaped traditions and fanciful allegories, which the best aids of learning and genius could

work out into no clearer shape than the wild and hopeless divarications presented in the pages of those later writers?

"It is extremely difficult," Mr. Knight observes, "to obtain any accurate information concerning any of the mystic doctrines: all the early writers turning away from the mention of them with a sort of religious horror; and those of later times, who have pretended to explain them, being to be read with much caution; as their assertions are generally founded in conjecture, and oftentimes warped by prejudices in favour of their own particular systems and opinions in religion and philosophy." —pp. 2, 3.

The union of art and mythology in ancient times has ever been so obvious, that each has been called upon, in every age, to assist in casting some light on the other; but it has been reserved especially for "these piping times of peace" to carry out more thoroughly and effectually the measures which were likely to ensure success, while the mass of intellect which has been brought to the work, with the energetic power which has set that mass in motion, not only promises, but has already ensured, the most favourable results. Within our memory this branch of knowledge was the study of a chosen few, but now so widely has it spread as to form a subject of interest in general society. In the work now more immediately before us,* besides its ample learning, considerable talent has been displayed, not only in the general arrangement and treatment of the subject, but in a perspicuity of description as desirable to the reader as creditable to the author; while the text is substantiated by numerous extracts from ancient writers, contained in the notes, with continued references to coins and other works of art. In his opening section Mr. Knight states that

"As all the most interesting and important subjects of ancient art are taken from the religious or poetical mythology of the times, a general analysis of the principles and progress of that mythology will afford a more complete as well as more concise explanation of particular monuments than can be conveyed in separate dissertations annexed to each."

He then refers to the primitive religion of the Greeks, as being similar to that of all other nations not enlightened by revelation; most justly asserting, in Sect. 5, p. 2, that we find traces of the same simple "principles and fanciful superstructures from the shores of the Baltic to the banks of the Ganges." He next proceeds to say

"There can be little doubt that the voluminous poetical cosmogonies still extant among the Hindoos, and the fragments preserved of those of

* Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology, by R. P. Knight. Privately printed 1818, and reprinted, London, 1836.

the Scandinavians, may afford us very competent ideas of the style and subjects of those ponderous compilations in verse, which constituted the mystic lore of the ancient priests of Persia, Germany, Spain, Gaul, and Britain; and which in the two latter countries were so extensive that the education of a Druid sometimes required twenty years. From the specimens above mentioned we may, nevertheless, easily console ourselves for the loss of all of them as poetical compositions, whatever might have been their value in other respects."

Is this last paragraph true, and have we not cause to regret them considering them only as poetical compositions? The question we conceive may be fairly asked; nor can we imagine how to answer it, without the means of judging.

We are next introduced to the "secret or mystic system," and reminded of the difficulties attending initiation, on which occur the following remarks.

"When Greece lost her liberty, the periods of probation were dispensed with in favour of her acknowledged sovereigns; but nevertheless so sacred and awful was this subject, that, even in the lowest stage of her servitude and depression, the Emperor Nero did not dare to compel the priests to initiate him, on account of the murder of his mother. To divulge any thing thus learnt was everywhere considered as the extreme of wickedness and impiety, and at Athens was punished with death; on which account Alcibiades was condemned, together with many other illustrious citizens, whose loss contributed greatly to the ruin of that republic and the subversion of its empire."

We greatly question whether it was so much "the sacredness and awfulness" of the subject as the complete mastery of the priests over the minds of *all classes* by the management of their extensive means, which was proved by Nero's "not daring to compel the priests to initiate him." By laying bare the slender basis of their mysticism, the "vulgar religion or popular mythology" would have received a blow, which, at the time when the mild and humane tenets of Christianity were disseminated, there was every reason for averting at any hazard. That the priests even in those late days did possess such power cannot be questioned, while the feelings of the people at an earlier period may be proved by the fact well known and recorded; of Æschylus narrowly escaping being torn to pieces on the stage for bringing out something supposed to be mystic, and saving himself by proving that he had never been initiated. As in the Jewish dispensation, dark shadowings forth of things to come formed no slight part of their laws and ceremonies, so, to the uninitiated of the heathens, symbolical language formed a veil at which men might gaze and wonder; while in many of its details it bore an evident impress of portions of our belief. The following observations are just and to the purpose.

"In examining these symbols in the remains of ancient art, which have escaped the barbarism and bigotry of the middle ages, we may sometimes find it difficult to distinguish between those compositions which are mere efforts of taste and fancy, and those which were emblems of what were thought divine truths; but nevertheless this difficulty is not so great as it at first view appears to be; for there is such an obvious analogy and connection between the different emblematical monuments, not only of the same, but of different and remote countries, that, when properly arranged and brought under one point of view, they in a great degree explain themselves by mutually explaining each other. There is one class too, the most numerous and important of all, which must have been designed and executed under the sanction of public authority; and therefore, whatever meaning they contain, must have been the meaning of nations, and not the caprice of individuals.

"This is the class of coins, the devices upon which were always held so strictly sacred, that the most proud and powerful monarchs never ventured to put their portraits upon them, until the practice of deifying sovereigns enrolled them among the gods. Neither the kings of Persia, Macedonia, or Epirus, nor even the tyrants of Sicily ever took this liberty; the first portraits that we find upon money being those of Ægyptian and Syrian dynasties of Macedonian princes, whom the flattery of their subjects had raised to divine honours. The artists had indeed before found a way of gratifying the vanity of their patrons without offending their piety, which was by mixing their features with those of the Deity whose image was to be impressed; an artifice which seems to have been practised in the coins of several of the Macedonian kings, previous to the custom of putting their portraits upon them.

"It is in a great degree owing to the sanctity of the devices that such numbers of very ancient coins have been preserved fresh and entire; for it was owing to this that they were put into tombs, with vases and other sacred symbols, and not, as Lucian has ludicrously supposed, that the dead might have the means of paying for their passage over the Styx: the whole fiction of Charon and his boat being of late date, and posterior to many tombs in which coins have been found."—pp. 3, 4.

Although the fiction of Charon and his boat may have been posterior to many tombs containing money, the boat was used for the Egyptian dead; and is it not certain that Charon himself was a fiction of the older Etruscans? His hideous features, unclassical and supposed unearthly visage, so represented also in Etruscan tombs, affording the same singular facial angle and formation of scull as are found in Mexican pictures and the tombs of Peru, as well as in some Egyptian mummies; one of these is in the British Museum, though by our sages *purposely* concealed from view! The importance Mr. Knight attaches to the assistance derivable from coins may be gathered from the following.

Sect. 17. "By opening the tombs, which the ancients held sacred, and exploring the foundations of ruined cities where money was concealed, modern cabinets have been enriched with more complete series

of coins than could have been collected in any period of antiquity: we can thus bring under one point of view the whole progress of the art from its infancy to its decline, and compare the various religious symbols which have been employed in ages and countries remote from each other. These symbols have the great advantage over those preserved in other branches of sculpture that they have never been mutilated or restored; and also that they exhibit two compositions together, one on each side of the coin, which mutually serve to explain each other, and thus enable us to read the symbolical or mystical writing with more certainty than we are enabled to do in any other monuments. It is principally, therefore, under their guidance, that we shall endeavour to explore the vast and confused labyrinths of poetical and allegorical fable; and to separate as accurately as we can the theology from the mythology of the ancients: by which means alone we can obtain a competent knowledge of the mystic, or, as it was otherwise called, the Orphic faith, and explain the general style and language of symbolical art in which it was conveyed."

Having thus explained his intention, our author commences with Ceres and Bacchus, called in Egypt Isis and Osiris and in Syria Venus and Adonis, as those under whom persons were generally instructed in the faith. The Egg, with the Serpent, the Bull, and the Goat, are successively brought under notice, as symbolical representations of the active, pervading, and creative power of Divinity; and the passively productive principle is asserted to have been enigmatically shown by the fig leaf, the concha Veneris, the barley-corn, and the letter Delta. The Amazons of course receive their share of doubt, whilst a supposition of the origin of such fables is hazarded in the statement of Hippocrates, "that the right breast of the Sarmatian women was destroyed in their infancy, to qualify them for war, in which they served on horseback; and none was qualified to be a wife till she had slain three enemies."—(See also F. Q. R. No. XXXVII., p. 221.) Mr. Knight has previously mentioned that

"In the great sculptured caverns of the island of Elephanta, near Bombay, there is a figure, evidently symbolical, with a large prominent female breast on the left side and none on the right. This figure has four arms; and of those on the right side, one holds up a serpent, and the other rests upon the head of a bull; while of those on the left, one holds up a small buckler, and the other something which cannot be ascertained."—p. 15, § 50.

In this emblematical figure our author considers the artist to have intended the union of the two sexes.

An idea of Mr. Knight (last part 54th Sect.) that "much of the Hindoo mythology and all their knowledge of alphabetical writing, as well as the use of money, came from the Greeks, through the Bactrian and Parthian empires, the sovereigns of

both which appear to have employed the Grecian letters and language in all their public acts," is out of the question.

Can indeed the *Aum* of the Indians, equivalent with the *Amun* of the Egyptians, have by any possibility been derived from the *Pan* of the Greeks? Does not the argument tend the opposite way, and bring much *from* India which has been supposed *given* to it? We refer the reader to F. Q. R. No. XLIII. Art. *Schlegel*, pp. 176, 177. Also No. XXXV., p. 139, and No. XXXVII., p. 216.

The Etruscan tombs, we now see, to a certain extent contradict the latter part of the 86th section. What would the author moreover say to the cities of the plain? Surely the account in the 19th chap. Genesis is enough to determine that "such preposterous appetites were" NOT "wholly unknown to the *simplicity* of the early times," although not "once noticed either in the Iliad, the Odyssey, or the genuine poem of Hesiod; for as to the lines in the former poem alluding to the story of Ganymede, they are manifestly spurious." Did not the introduction or omission of such subjects depend simply on the poet's taste! But without entering on the authenticity of this or other passages, which would involve us in matter beyond our limits, we must observe that Mr. Knight seems frequently to meet difficulties in this manner; a method to which an author should resort as sparingly as practicable, and with the greatest caution. A bold assertion is easily made, even when impossible to maintain. In Sect. 99, the lines in the Iliad concerning Ariadne, Bacchus, and Theseus, are declared to be "*evidently spurious.*" In Sect. 173, "the whole of the Song of Demodocus in the Odyssey" is said to be "an interpolation of a much later date." In sect. 206, "the four lines alluding to the dedication of the Brothers of Helen in the Odyssey" are described as "being *undoubtedly spurious*, though extremely beautiful;" and again in Sect. 220, note 10, "The four lines in Odyssey M. 69—72, *are manifestly* interpolated." The author has taken we observe so much of hypothesis for his theory itself, that he has overlooked the necessity of proof in his critical remarks.

The following quotation may be interesting to the general reader, although not containing anything new to us now.

"In Stukely's Itinerary is the ground plan of an ancient Celtic or Scandinavian temple found in Zealand, consisting of a circle of rude stones within a square; and it is probable that many others of those circles were originally enclosed in square areas. Stonehenge is the most important monument of this kind now extant, and from a passage of Hecatœus preserved by Diodorus Siculus, it seems to have been not wholly unknown to that ancient historian; who might have collected some vague accounts of the British islands from the Phœnician and

Carthaginian merchants, who traded there for tin." "THE HYPERBOREANS," said he, "INHABIT AN ISLAND BEYOND GAUL, IN WHICH APOLLO IS WORSHIPPED IN A CIRCULAR TEMPLE CONSIDERABLE FOR ITS SIZE AND RICHES." This island can be no other than Britain; in which we know of no traces of any other circular temple which could have appeared considerable to a Greek or Phœnician of that age: that the account should be imperfect and obscure is not surprising; since even the most inquisitive and credulous travellers among the Greeks could scarcely obtain sufficient information concerning the British islands to satisfy them of their existence. A temple of the same form was situated upon Mount Zilmissus in Thrace, and dedicated to the Sun, under the title of Bacchus Sebazius; and another is mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius, which was dedicated to Mars, upon an island in the Euxine Sea, near the coast of the Amazons."

"The large obelisks of stone found in many parts of the North, such as those at Rudstone and near Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, belonged to the same religion: obelisks, as Pliny observes, being sacred to the sun, whose rays they signified, both by their form and name. They were therefore the emblems of light, the primary and essential emanations of the Deity; whence radiating the head, or surrounding it with a diadem of small obelisks, was a mode of consecration or dedication which flattery often employed in the portraits both of the Macedonian kings and Roman emperors."

In the next Sections, 103, 104, p. 30, Mr. Knight states that,

"On a Lapland drum the goddess Isa or Disa is represented by a pyramid, surmounted with the emblem so frequently observed in the hands of the Egyptian deities; and the pyramid has likewise been observed among the religious symbols of the savages of North America. The most sacred idol, too, of the Hindoos in the great temple of Juggernaut, in the province of Orissa, is a pyramidal stone; and the altar in the temple of Mexico, upon which human victims were sacrificed to the deity of the Sun, was a pointed pyramid, on which the unhappy captive was extended on his back, in order to have his heart taken out by the priest."

"The spires and pinnacles with which our old churches are decorated come from these ancient symbols; and the weathercocks with which they are surmounted, though now only employed to show the direction of the wind, were orginally emblems of the sun; for the cock is the natural herald of the day, and therefore sacred to the fountain of light. In the symbolical writing of the Chinese, the sun is still represented by a cock in a circle; and a modern Parsee would suffer death rather than be guilty of the crime of killing one. It appears on many ancient coins, with some symbol of the passive productive power on the reverse; and in other instances it is united with Priapic and other emblems and devices signifying different attributes combined."

Now to what does all this amount? Neither more nor less than to a fanciful description of probabilities. That the obelisk was the symbol mentioned there can be no doubt, as well as that

the pyramid was the same:—that the cock was an emblem of the sun may be unquestionable; but that the spires and pinnacles of our old churches or the weathercocks on them were connected with those ancient symbols may be a pretty suggestion, but can reach no further. Too extensive a use of imagination is more injurious than its too limited exercise, while the pursuit of any favorite and long-cherished theory frequently renders us blind to the most important opposing facts. The *one* desired object is alone kept in view, and many are the posts against which we stumble in our course; to the *one* feeling of the mind we must attend, be the object what it may—religion—politics—or the leg of a spider. The mental microscope is applied to that object, and while gazing on it in self-absorbed satisfaction we lose sight of all else. We can occasionally observe others similarly employed on different subjects and pity their delusion, little suspecting that like thoughts are passing in their minds regarding us. With all the talent of this work aided by its extensive research, we are inclined to think that Mr. Knight occasionally travels beyond his limits, indulging too freely in fanciful suggestions. All researches into the past must, it is true, be attended with some considerable exercise of imagination; to a sparing indulgence no objection could be raised, but against the intoxications of fancy we must protest. That Mr. Knight may be right in many of his conjectures we do not doubt, but of some we more than entertain a suspicion: it will however be better at once to proceed with his solution, and the destruction of many of our old school companions, we had almost said friends, of whom he disposes in the most summary and wholesale manner.

Sect. 107. "The third eye of this ancient statue (Jupiter, of wood, in the citadel of Argos) was in the forehead; and it seems that the Hindoos have a symbolical figure of the same kind; whence we may venture to infer, that the Cyclops, concerning whom there are so many inconsistent fables, owed their fictitious being to some such enigmatical compositions. According to the ancient theogony attributed to Hesiod they were the sons of Heaven and Earth, and brothers of Saturn or Time; signifying, according to the Scholiast, the circular or central power; the principles of the general motion of the universe above noticed. The Cyclops of the Odyssey is a totally different personage; but as he is said to be the son of Neptune or the Sea, it is probable that he equally sprang from some emblematical figure or allegorical tale. Whether the poet meant him to be a giant of a one-eyed race, or to have lost his other eye by accident, is uncertain; but the former is most probable, or he would have told what the accident was."

Poked out by the ferule of an umbrella perhaps.

"In an ancient piece of sculpture however found in Sicily the artist has supposed the latter, as have also some learned moderns."

We have inserted this last clause lest some of our readers, not aware of the fact, should give Mr. Knight himself credit for this mangling of our one-eyed friends. What Homer would have said to "the artist" and "the learned moderns" we know not; but hope that, using the precedent of the Spartan Lysander with the Athenian Philocles, he would have carried out their ideas on themselves; if indeed they were not more than half-blind already. The "learned moderns" who imagined so much would have as easily imagined a whole nation of fortuitously one-eyed Calenders, instead of the three in the Arabian Nights. It may certainly be justly argued that an eye is an eye; but although not accustomed to consider the Cyclops as beauties, we do not like associating them in our minds with Greenwich pensioners.

In the last part of the 114th sect. we find the origin of Actæon thus described—

"The very ancient colossal statue of the Androgynous Apollo near Miletus, of which there is an engraving from an ancient copy in the Select Specimens, Pl. XII., carried a deer in the right hand, and on a very early gold coin, probably of Ephesus, a male beardless head is represented with the horns of the same animal; whence we suspect that the metamorphose of Actæon, like many other similar fables, arose from some such symbolical composition."

And in Sect. 121. "The beauty of his person and the style of his dress" (the Phrygian Attis) "caused his statues to be confounded with those of Paris, who appears also to have been canonized; and it is probable that a symbolical composition, representing him in the act of fructifying nature, attended by power and wisdom, gave rise to the story of the Trojan prince's adjudging the prize of beauty between the three contending goddesses: a story which appears to have been wholly unknown to the ancient poets, who have celebrated the events of the war supposed to have arisen from it."

In this manner is the Judgment of Paris settled; but we would observe that the Eastern use of the apple as a marriage ceremonial, though not referred to by the author, may seem to give some colour to this idea. The horrors of the "Prometheus vinctus" of Æschylus are as quickly despatched. We next learn

Sect. 123. "From the symbolical use of the boar to represent the destroying or rather the antigenerative attribute, probably arose the abhorrence of swine's flesh, which prevailed universally among the Egyptians and the Jews."

Is not the law of Moses against the Jews eating swine's flesh sufficient to account for their abhorrence of it without this symbolical solution? and was it not more probably historical than symbolical among the Egyptians, from the death of Timaus?

"The stories of Prometheus were equally allegorical; for Prometheus was only a title of the sun, expressing providence or foresight; where-

fore his being bound in the extremeties of the earth, signified originally no more than the restriction of the power of the sun during the winter months, though it has been variously embellished and corrupted by the poets; partly perhaps from symbolical compositions ill understood, for the vulture might have been naturally employed as an emblem of the destroying power."—Sect. 124.

We take the same objection here as in the preceding case; namely, that the symbol arose more probably from the historical fact. The next extract needs no introduction.

Sect. 135. "The mythological personages Castor and Pollux, who lived and died alternately, were the same as Bacchus and Apollo; whence they were preeminently distinguished by the title of the GREAT GODS in some places, though in others confounded with the canonized or deified mortals the brothers of Helen. Their fabulous birth from the egg, the form of which is retained in the caps usually worn by them, is a remnant of the ancient mystic allegory, upon which the more recent poetical tales have been engrafted; whilst the two asterisks and the two human heads, one going upwards and the other downwards, by which they are occasionally represented, more distinctly point out their symbolical meaning, which was the alternate appearance of the sun in the upper and lower hemispheres. This meaning, being a part of what was revealed in the mysteries, is probably the reason why Apuleius mentions seeing the sun at midnight among the circumstances of initiation, which he has obscurely and enigmatically related."

On the rape of Europa is the following.

Sect. 144. "It is in the character of the destroying attribute that Diana is called ΤΑΥΡΟΠΟΛΑ and ΒΟΩΝ ΕΛΑΤΕΙΑ, in allusion to her being borne or drawn by bulls, like the Destroyer among the Hindoos; and it is probable that some such symbolical composition gave rise to the fable of Jupiter and Europa; for it appears that in Phœnicia, Europa and Astarte were only different titles for the same personage, who was the deity of the moon, comprehending both the Diana and celestial Venus of the Greeks; whence the latter was occasionally represented armed like the former, and also distinguished by epithets which can be properly applied only to the planet, and which are certainly derived from the primitive planetary worship."

As Mr. Knight's use of the lotus or water-lily is extensive, and his description of it interesting, we cannot do better than place it before our readers, premising that from it, according to our author, has sprung *every order of Grecian architecture.*

Sect. 146. "The mystic symbol called a modius or πολος, which is upon the heads of Pluto, Serapis, Venus, and Fortune or Isis, appears to be no other than the bell or seed vessel of the lotus or water-lily, the nymphæ nelumbo of Linnæus. This plant, which appears to be a native of the eastern parts of Asia, and is not now found in Egypt, grows in the water; and amidst its broad leaves, which float upon the surface, puts forth a large white flower, the base and centre of which is shaped like a

bell or inverted cone, and punctuated on the top with little cells or cavities, in which the seeds grow. The orifices of these cells being too small to let them drop out when ripe, they shoot forth into new plants in the places were they were formed, the bulb of the vessel serving as a matrice to nourish them until they acquire a degree of magnitude sufficient to burst it open and release themselves; when they sink to the bottom or take root wherever the current happens to deposit them. Being therefore of a nature thus reproductive in itself, and as it were of a viviparous species among plants, the nelumbo was naturally adopted as the symbol of the productive power of the waters, which spread life and vegetation over the earth. It also appeared to have a peculiar sympathy with the sun, the great fountain of life and motion, by rising above the waters as it rose above the horizon and sinking under them as it retired below. Accordingly we find it employed in every part of the northern hemisphere where symbolical worship either does or ever did prevail. The sacred images of the Tartars, Japanese and Indians are almost all placed upon it, and it is still sacred both in Tibet and China.

In Sect. 149, Mr. Knight attacks those who, as he expresses it, "have reduced as much as possible the limits of ancient history, notwithstanding the obstinate evidence of those monuments of art and labour which still stand up in their defence." This is at once taking it for granted that they are wrong, which surely should not be done in so concise a manner and only on the evidence of the extent of monuments. We know what works were achieved by eastern monarchs in an incredibly short period, and that the labour of their multitudes was not a matter of consideration; the canal through the Isthmus of Sana for instance being a work, according to Herodotus, of more ostentation than utility. We ourselves are thankful for any information that may extend and simplify our knowledge of past ages, when founded upon correct data. The argument indeed of Mr. Knight in favour of a longer period, in Sect. 151, appears at first to be well supported; but on looking at Mr. Cory's excellent "Chronological Inquiry" and noting his direct calculations ("every one of which," he justly says, "is founded upon historic record without the slightest variation to accommodate") we at once acknowledge ourselves bound to give credence to such testimony in preference to isolated evidence; as of Herodotus being shown, and Hecatæus, the statues of 341 successive priests, each of whom was compelled by custom to erect a colossal figure of himself. It is not on such a circumstance, dependent on such a priesthood, that we can depend, when opposed to the result of calm and general inquiry.

We will now proceed with our author's suggestion regarding the Grecian orders of architecture.

"But, remote as the antiquity of the Egyptian remains seems to be, the symbols which adorn them appear not to have been invented

by that, but to have been copied from those of some other people, who dwelt on the other side of the Erythrœan ocean. Both the nelumbo and the hooded snake, which are among those most frequently repeated, and most accurately represented upon all their sacred monuments, are, as before observed, natives of the East; and upon the very ancient Egyptian temple near Girge, figures have been observed exactly resembling those of the Indian deities, Juggernaut, Gonnes and Vishnoo. The Egyptian architecture appears however to have been original and indigenous, and in this art only the Greeks seemed to have borrowed from them; the different orders being only different modifications of the symbolical columns which the Egyptians formed in imitation of the nelumbo plant.

"The earliest capital seems to have been the bell, or seed vessel, simply copied, without any alteration except a little expansion at bottom to give it stability. The leaves of some other plant were then added to it, and varied in different capitals according to the different meanings intended to be signified by these accessary symbols. The Greeks decorated it in the same manner with the foliage of various plants, sometimes of the acanthus, and sometimes of the aquatic kind; which are however generally so transformed by their excessive attention to elegance, that it is difficult to ascertain them. The most usual seems to be the Egyptian acacia, which was probably adopted as a mystic symbol for the same reasons as the olive; it being equally remarkable for its powers of re-production. Theophrastus mentions a large wood of it in the Thebais, where the olive will not grow; so that we may reasonably suppose it to have been employed by the Egyptians in the same symbolical sense. From them the Greeks seemed to have borrowed it about the time of the Macedonian conquest, it not occurring in any of their buildings of a much earlier date: and as for the story of the Corinthian architect who is said to have invented this kind of capital from observing a thorn growing round a basket, it deserves no credit, being fully contradicted by the buildings still remaining in Upper Egypt.

"The Doric column, which appears to have been the only one known to the very ancient Greeks, was equally derived from the nelumbo, its capital being the same seed vessel pressed flat as it appears when withered and dry; the only state, probably, in which it had been seen in Europe. The flutes in the shaft were made to hold spears and staves, whence a spear-holder is spoken of in the Odyssey as part of a column: the triglyphs and blocks of the cornice were also derived from utility; they having been intended to represent the projecting ends of the beams and rafters which formed the roof.

"The Ionic capital has no bell, but volutes formed in imitation of sea shells, which have the same symbolical meaning. To them is frequently added the ornament which architects call a honeysuckle; but which seems to be meant for the young petals of the same flower viewed horizontally, before they are opened or expanded. Another ornament is also introduced in this capital, which they call eggs and anchors; but which is in fact composed of eggs and spear heads, the symbols of passive generative and active destructive power, or, in the language of mythology, of Venus and Mars.

"These are in reality all the Greek orders, which are respectively distinguished by the symbolical ornaments being placed UPWARDS, DOWNWARDS, or SIDEWAYS; wherefore, to invent a new order is as much impossible as to invent an attitude or position which shall incline to neither of the three. As for the orders called Tuscan and Composite, the one is that in which there is no ornament whatsover, and the other that in which various ornaments are placed in different directions; so that the one is in reality no order, and the other a combination of several."—Sects. 152—156.

We shall leave the consideration of these suggestions to our readers—they are amusing and ingenious, if not instructive; carrying an air of probability which our cooler judgment may reject, but which is worth examination. With the solution we confess ourselves unsatisfied; the elegant Corinthian does not at all answer to its symbolical description, but more fully verifies the old-fashioned notion of foliage drooping over the top of a basket, whether the carrier of the basket chanced to be a Corinthian or Egyptian: we would venture to suggest for the Ionic, as equally symbolical with sea shells and of much more frequent occurrence, Bulls' or Rams' horns; the graceful curve of that order being by this means attained without seeking in another element for that which can be more powerfully expressed in our own; and in even more perfect accordance with the symbolical language of the nation.

Mr. Knight, in sect. 167, speaking of "parents making their children to pass through the fire," states that "in India it is still performed by mothers passing through the flames with their children in their arms;" and that he thinks commentators wrong, as they certainly are, in supposing them to have been burnt alive; continuing, that this mode of consecration to the deity is now performed in Ireland, "and held to be a holy and mystic means of communion with the great active principle of the universe."

In Sect. 168 however he acknowledges

"It must be admitted that the Carthaginians and other nations of antiquity did occasionally sacrifice their children to their gods in the most cruel and barbarous manner; and, indeed, there is scarcely any people whose history does not afford some instances of such abominable rites. Even the patriarch Abraham, when ordered to sacrifice his only son, does not appear to have been surprised or startled at it; neither could Jephtha have had any notion that such sacrifices were odious, or even unacceptable to the Deity, or he would not have considered his daughter as included in his general vow, or imagined that a breach of it in such an instance could be a greater crime than fulfilling it."

We are aware that a custom of sacrificing the eldest, only, or most valued child, existed among the earliest nations; but that the patriarch Abraham should not have expressed surprise, or

shown any misgivings,—and be it remembered that we are not told what he felt at the command of his Creator,—will not form a subject of wonder when we reflect on all the circumstances that had preceded it.

The child Isaac had been granted him by a miracle in the old age of himself and wife. He was in the habit of direct communication with the Deity. By His direction had he been guided in his journeyings, and preserved from many and evident dangers. He could feel no doubt that it was Jehovah who required his son of him, and he *consequently* did not venture to betray a question of the course to be pursued. The very fact recorded by our author was the cause of Abraham's being so eminently rewarded: the unwavering steadiness of his faith "was imputed unto him for righteousness." To the introduction of Jephtha's vow we entirely object, while the method of insertion here deserves reprehension: Mr. Knight must have known, as who does not? the fact of the sacrifice of Jephtha's daughter to have been a long controverted point. Was it right then to advert to it, whatever might be his opinion, as an unquestionable illustration? For our own parts we have ever regarded the vow of the father as two-fold—"It shall surely be the Lord's, *or* I will offer it up for a burnt-offering," Judges xi, v. 31, and its fulfilment we have considered as carrying out the former intention, that of devoting his child to God in perpetual virginity. The words, we think, amply bear this construction. "And it came to pass at the end of two months, that she returned unto her father who did with her according to his vow which he had vowed: and she knew no man. And it was a custom in Israel." Judges xi. v. 39. In answer to the author's general insinuation on this subject, we would remind his readers that human sacrifices were not only forbidden by the Jewish law, but declared abominable to God.

The following passage is pretty, while the next will be found to contain interesting facts.

Sect. 169. "The celestial or ætherial soul was represented in symbolical writing by the butterfly; an insect which first appears from the egg in the shape of a grub, crawling upon the earth, and feeding upon the leaves of plants. In this state it was aptly made an emblem of man in his earthly form; when the Athenian vigor and activity of the celestial soul, the DIVINÆ PARTICULA MENTIS, was clogged and encumbered with the material body. In its next state, the grub becoming a chrysalis appeared, by its stillness, torpor, and insensibility, a natural image of death, or the intermediate state between the cessation of the vital functions of the body and the emancipation of the soul on the funeral pile: and the butterfly breaking from this torpid chrysalis, and mounting in the air, afforded a no less natural image of the celestial soul bursting from the restraints of matter, and mixing again with its native

æther. Like other animal symbols it was by degrees melted into the human form: the original wings only being retained to mark its meaning. So elegant an allegory would naturally be a favourite subject of art among a refined and ingenious people; and it accordingly appears to have been more diversified and repeated by the Greek sculptors than almost any other which the system of emanations, so favourable to art, could have formed.

On this point we would also refer to our last number, p. 399, where the butterfly is used, and we think with great elegance, as a symbol of love-fancies and imaginings by the Chinese.

Sect. 177. "The Egyptians are said to have represented the pervading spirit or the ruling providence of the Deity by the black beetle, which frequents the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and which some have supposed to be an emblem of the sun. It occurs very frequently upon Phœnician, Greek, and Etruscan, as well as Egyptian sculptures; and is sometimes with the owl, and sometimes with the head of Minerva, upon the small brass coins of Athens. It is of the Androgynous class, and lays its eggs in a ball of dung or other fermentable matter, which it had previously collected, and rolled backwards and forwards upon the sand of the sea until it acquired the proper form and consistency; after which it buries it in the sand, where the joint operation of heat and moisture matures and vivifies the germs into new insects."

In speaking of dancing Mr. Knight alludes, sect. 187, to Socrates and Sophocles cultivating it as a useful and respectable accomplishment, and of its being classed by Aristotle with poetry. At the latter part of the same section he says—

"The ancient dancing however, which held so high a rank among liberal and sacred arts, was entirely imitative; and esteemed honourable, or otherwise, in proportion to the dignity or indignity of what it was meant to express. The highest was that which exhibited military exercises and exploits with the most perfect skill, grace, and agility; excellence in which was often honoured by a statute in some distinguished attitude; and we strongly suspect that the figure commonly called 'the fighting Gladiator' is one of them; there being a very decided character of individuality both in the form and features; and it would scarcely have been quite naked had it represented any event in history."

We shall leave it for others to determine upon the probability of Mr. Knight's "suspicion," merely remarking that we thought fighting Gladiators were sometimes as much disencumbered of clothes as dancers, and that consequently we do not see why it might not as well be the original as the imitation: we pass on to the conic stones, upon which our author forms another suspicion.

"Stones of a similar conic form are represented upon the colonial medals of Tyre, and called ambrosial stones; from which probably came the amberies so frequent all over the Northern Hemisphere.

These, from the remains still extant, appear to have been composed of one of these cones let into the ground, with another stone placed upon the point of it, and so nicely balanced that the wind could move it, though so ponderous that no human force unaided by machinery can displace it: whence they are now called LOGGING ROCKS, and PENDRE STONES, as they were anciently LIVING STONES and STONES OF GOD; titles which differ but little in meaning from that on the Tyrian coins. Damascius saw several of them in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis or Baalbeck, in Syria; particularly one which was then moved by the wind; and they are equally found in the western extremities of Europe and the eastern extremities of Asia, in Britain, and in China. Probably the stone which the patriarch Jacob anointed with oil according to a mode of worship once generally practised, as it still is by the Hindoos, was of this kind."—Sect. 197.

Why the stone which formed the pillow for Jacob's head should "probably" have been "of this kind," we are at a loss to conjecture, unless we could imagine the patriarch providing for future travellers being *rocked* to sleep. Neither would the process of setting "such a stone up for a pillar," which we are informed he did, have been an easy task even for Jacob, as in the foregoing description we are told the upper stone was "so ponderous that no human force unaided by machinery could displace it." The placing it we should have imagined to have been a somewhat more difficult undertaking. But arguments on such *probabilities* are thrown away, and we can only regret that a work so full of information and research should be defaced by so many absurd puerilities. We turn with pleasure from this subject to section 203, where the author says—

"This custom of canonizing or deifying men seems to have arisen from that general source of ancient rites and opinions, the system of emanations; according to which all were supposed to partake of the divine essence, but not in an equal degree; whence, while a few simple rites, faintly expressive of religious veneration were performed in honour of all the dead, a direct and explicit worship was paid to the shades of certain individuals, renowned for either great virtues or great vices, which, if equally energetic, equally dazzle and overawe the gaping multitude."

We consider the following observations to be correct, while experience unfortunately tends to confirm the concluding probability.

"But what contributed most of all towards peopling the coasts and islands, both of the Mediterranean and adjoining ocean, with illustrious fugitives of that memorable period, was the practice of ancient navigators in giving the names of their gods and heroes to the lands which they discovered in the same manner as the moderns do those of their saints and martyrs; for in those early ages every name

thus given became the subject of a fable, because the name continued when those who gave it were forgotten. In modern times every navigator keeps a journal, which, if it contains any new or important information, is printed and made public; so that when a succeeding navigator finds any traces of European language or manners in a remote country, he knows from whence they came; but had there been no narratives left by the first modern discoverers, and subsequent adventurers had found the name of St. Francis or St. Anthony with some faint traces of Christianity in any of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, they might have concluded, or at least conjectured, that those saints had actually been there; whence the first convent of monks that arose in that colony would soon make out a complete history of their arrival and abode there; the hardships which they endured, the miracles which they wrought, and the relics which they left for the edification of the faithful, and the emolument of their teachers."—Sect. 209.

In sect. 211. we have an attack upon (we presume) Mr. Bryant, "for entirely rejecting the testimony of Thucydides in his account of the ancient population of Greece, and receiving in its stead that of Cedrenus, Syncellus, and other monkish writers of the lower ages, and other crimes of a like character. We will not interfere in this matter further than to show that there are two opinions of Mr. Bryant, by quoting a few lines from Mushet's "Trinities of the Ancients."

"I cannot" (says that gentleman) "mention the name of Jacob Bryant without reverence and admiration. His love of truth; his profound and extensive learning; and his admirable judgment, constitute him a great authority in every thing relative to antiquity;" and again, "I am happy to say that I coincide in most of his conclusions, wrought out by unparalleled industry and surprising erudition. His great work on '*The Ancient Mythology*' must continue to be the wonder of posterity: it is honourable, as much to the country in which it was produced, as to the great and inestimable author himself."

In justice to Mr. Bryant we have given this quotation, and shall support it by another—"in medio tutissimus ibis." Thucydides undoubtedly revived and preserved the legends of the Greeks, but we are not aware that these were the earliest traditions. Till the Pelasgi can be traced are we not justified, with Bryant, in examining every relic of antiquity?

In sections 213, 214 and 215, we have a sweeping consecutive condemnation of Sanchoniatho, Eusebius, Alexander's Letter to his Mother, and Warburton, while the early Christian writers are not spared for countenancing the first; we will however quote the remarks on them and Eusebius, in order "that the urbanity and kindness with which he opened the treasury of his mind," as described by his editor, may be made evident.

"The early Christian writers however took it (Sanchoniathon) under their protection, because it favoured that system, which, by degrading the old, facilitated the progress of the new religion; but in whatever else these writers may have excelled they certainly had no claim to excellence in either moral sincerity or critical sagacity; and none less than Eusebius, who, though his authority has lately been preferred to that of Thucydides and Xenophon, was so differently thought of by ecclesiastical writers of the immediately subsequent ages, that he is one of those by whose example they justified the practice of holy lying, or asserting that which they knew to be false in support of that which they believed to be true."—Sect. 214.

The only reference given in support of these allegations is of so general a kind as to contain no further direction than "pro libro adv. Jovinian." The characters of the early Christian writers and of Eusebius stand on too high a pinnacle to be touched by darts hurled by Mr. Knight. He and every other man has a perfect right to differ from preceding writers, whether dead or living; but there can be no necessity in that difference for wholesale abuse, or even the imputing improper motives to the opposite party. Eusebius' name stands high as an authority—late researches have tended to establish him—that he sometimes errs there can be no doubt, and what author ever existed whose works were perfect? but that he deceives intentionally we deny, while the result of our knowledge of his chronological inquiries speaks much for his general accuracy. A reference to Cory's Fragments* and the recent Venetian edition of a similar work, amply establishes this fact. Our author in common with Eusebius has returned to his parent earth, and we should much regret writing a sentence that would cause an angry or unpleasant feeling in the minds of his friends; at the same time we cannot suffer posthumous works to disseminate error without notice; and in the present instance have felt compelled to animadvert upon such portions as we consider objectionable, while we have endeavoured to bestow our meed of praise upon other parts and upon the general learning and research displayed.

The following quotations we shall introduce without comment.

Sect. 220 (latter part). "The Egyptians represented the Sun in a boat instead of a chariot; from which boat being carried in procession upon mens' shoulders, as it often appears in their sculptures, and being ornamented with symbols of Ammon taken from the ram, probably arose the fable of the Argonautic expedition; of which there is not a trace in the genuine parts of either of the Homeric poems. (Why should there?) The Colchians indeed were supposed to be a colony of Egyptians, and

* What an admirable, concise, and invaluable supplement might be formed to this excellent work by references alone to similar passages in all the Greek writers.

it is possible that there might be so much truth in the story, as that a party of Greek pirates carried off a golden figure of the symbol of their god; but had it been an expedition of any splendor or importance, it certainly would have been noticed in the repeated mention that is made of the heroes said to have been concerned in it."

We are informed in Sect. 225 that "the most common mode of signifying deification in a portrait, was representing the figure naked, or with the simple chlamys or mantle given to the statues of the gods."

In the latter part of the same Section we are told that "a deified or canonized Roman emperor was not called Deus, but Divus; a title which the early Christians equally bestowed on the canonized champions of their faith." The grateful enthusiasm of Virgil, Ec. 1, bestowed the former appellation.

Sect. 231. "The only certain proof of plagiary or borrowing is, where the animal or vegetable productions of one climate are employed as symbols by the inhabitants of another; as the lion is in Tibet, and as the lotus and hooded snake were in Egypt, which make it probable that the religious symbols of both those countries came originally from the Hindoos. As commercial communications however became more free and intimate, particular symbols might have been adopted from one people by another, without any common origin or even connection of general principles; though between Egypt and Hindostan the general similarity is too great in points remote from common usage to have been spontaneous or accidental."

We have the following observations on India in Sect. 232.

"Should the pious labours of our missionaries succeed in diffusing among them a more pure and more moral, but less uniform and less energetic system of religion, they may improve and exalt the characters of individual men; but they will for ever destroy the repose and tranquillity of the mass. The lights of European literature and philosophy will break in with the lights of the Gospel; the spirit of controversy will accompany the spirit of devotion; and it will soon be found that men who have learned to think themselves equal in the sight of God will assert their equality in the estimation of men. It requires therefore no spirit of prophecy, nor even any extraordinary degree of political sagacity, to fix the date of the fall of European domination in the East from the prevalence of European religion."

What results may lie in the womb of time we cannot say; but the foregoing remark is well worthy of the most serious consideration at the present moment, when so many concessions are making to the spirit of practical theorizing without the slightest regard to the religious prejudices, and these are RIGHTS, of the natives of Hindostan.

ART. IV.—*Lettres inédites de Marie Stuart accompagnées de diverses Dépêches et Instructions*, 1558—1587. Publiées par le Prince Alex. Labanoff. 8vo. Paris, 1839.

THE historical world and the reading public of Europe have long before now, we believe, made up their minds upon the oft-mooted question as to the guilt or innocence of Mary Stuart, and even in great measure as to the degree in which she was implicated in the plots of the times. Yet the subject will afford an eternal interest. It was not merely a question of dry historical fact, in which conflicting testimonies were to be examined and weighed together, and the value of each witness calmly ascertained: it was not merely mixed up with a political question, nor complicated only by that most difficult of considerations, the tendency and collision of rival and hostile creeds. Yet this alone might suffice, for in this case the best and holiest feelings of our nature, enlisted in the worst of causes, are so liable to perversion and deterioration in themselves, and so easily warped to the vilest courses under the most sacred of sanctions, half hallowing even while it debases, that the severest scrutiny and soundest judgment of inquirers are continually misled in the examination, of feelings and passions that continually deceived even those whom they actuated at the time.

These causes, however efficient to throw doubt over the subject, are not the sole complications. Historic certainties and sectarian violence do not always maintain their importance; the struggle of a rising against a failing religion, even though its epoch was the era of emancipation from political, through religious, thraldom, is not always a matter of equal interest to all, even of the descendants of those who fought the great fight of its liberty. But in regarding the particular case before us, we find a deeper thread is interwoven throughout the web; a softer pulse is awakened, and in the universal breast, that asks nothing from judgment or devotion. Apart from all other considerations, the difficulties of Mary's position, the passions, prejudices, ambition, the vices and violences of her masters and tyrants, whether followers or enemies, stand out in fearful relief, and excuse, in spite of our judgments, her own unnumbered faults. We view her as the subject of Grecian tragedy, the single victim of unrelenting fates; and her youth, her rank, her sex, her isolation; her utter helplessness, and the unrivalled beauty that provoked and exaggerated yet defied, sustained, and half atoned misfortune, all join to form the halo that sheds light on that corruption. We rise from the damning tale of evidence as from a painful romance, and drown unwilling censure in sad and sorrowing admiration. We feel by the

head and think by the heart: the truth of history fixes the case in our minds, and imagination invests it with a constant though factitious charm. We read the facts and are convinced; yet turn to fancy, and prefer to doubt.

If anything however were wanting to complete the chain of evidence against the ill-judging and unfortunate Mary, it would be the letters published in the volume before us. Yet if they leave no doubt whatever of the reality of circumstances upon which she was condemned, we question much if they will in the least diminish the personal interest in her fate. Nothing but this could have stood out so long against the accumulated and daily increasing proofs of her guilt: but this we conceive will last as long as her name, and ever plead, and plead effectually, the many extenuating circumstances that excuse and perhaps justify her conduct, while they certainly demand sympathy for that hopeless woman, so unequal to the times in which she was placed; whose political guilt was but weakness; whose sin to heaven was only her religion; whose insincerity was adherence to her creed; while her very birth was treason, and her beauty the real crime that could look for no pardon from her triumphant and vindictive rival.

We need not enter more fully upon a subject so often discussed, but proceed to a general abstract of the volume before us.

Prince Labanoff informs us that in making about eight years since various researches in a rich collection of MSS., which however circumstances forbid his naming at present, he met with various letters of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, and which he believed to be unedited. Unfortunately the copies made for him were found incorrect, and he has therefore now published only his previous collection, from the Bibliothèque Royale and the Archives of the Kingdom, at Paris. This consists of thirty-five letters of the queen's, her testament, the warrant and report of her execution, together with sixteen diplomatic despatches and memoirs concerning especially the later years of her life. With the exception of the warrant and four of M. de Chateauneuf's despatches, which have appeared in Lord Francis Egerton's Life of Chancellor Egerton, a rare book, and unfinished, the prince conceives the rest to be unpublished; for so many and imperfect have been the collections already before the world, and so altered by translation from their original French into English, Scotch, and Latin, and then re-translation, that it is not easy to speak with certainty on the subject.

A fertile source of errors has also been found in the uncertainty of dates, into which two changes were introduced within eighteen years. First by the Edict of Roussillon, which in 1564 altered the first day of the year from Easter eve to the 1st January; and

secondly by Pope Gregory XIIIth's bull, reforming the calendar in Catholic countries, October 5, 1582; while it was not altered in England or Scotland till 1752. Mary Stuart continued, it seems, to date her letters by the old style, while the French king and his ambassadors adopted the new: and the difference of ten days is the exact difference in the two dates of the queen's execution, the 8th and 18th February, 1587; as established by M. de Chateauneuf's despatch of February 27th.

A chronology of Mary Stuart's history, compiled from Castelnau, Robertson, Lingard, Raumer, &c. assists the reader's memory in perusing the collection itself.

The contents of the first letter prove it to have been written 1558-9, shortly after the marriage with the Dauphin, and give a first indication of that injustice with which Mary was afterwards so lavishly treated in France, by an attempt in the former instance to deprive "her and her husband of what the king had given them." A subsequent letter, dated Edinburgh 10th August 1562, and addressed to M. de Gonnor, superintendent of finance, requests his assistance to recover the balance of her dowry and some compensations for other matters.

An Instruction, July 11, 1566, from the King of France to Castelnau, on his journey to Scotland to congratulate Mary on the birth of her son, (James VI.) after complimenting Elizabeth on his way, recommends him to present letters of congratulation also to the king (Darnley), but only in such manner as shall be pleasing to Mary; and a similar reservation is placed upon the envoy's communications with the Scottish nobles. The same document, referring to the succours in men and money required by the queen, promises the former if the necessity should be found by the envoy to continue; and the passage regarding the money, so difficult for the French treasury, we extract, as curious:

"And farther, as the said Sr. de Mauvissière states that he thinks that the said Lady Queen of Scotland will enquire of him what assurance he brings her of the aid which the king wishes to afford her in her affairs, as well in men as in money, if the said Lady speaks of it to him he will answer:

"That M. the Cardinal de Lorraine having made known to their Majesties that the said Lady was in want of money, and seeing that the King from the necessity of his affairs, could send her nothing from himself, prayed their Majesties to let him be supplied with the 60,000 livres which were due to him of his pensions, which their Majesties did willingly; and because that there was not then enough ready money in the hands of the treasurer of the Espargne to supply the said sum in deniers, they caused the said treasurer to engage in his own proper and private name to those from whom my said Lord the Cardinal should receive the said amount, which their Majesties conceive he will not have

failed to send to the said Lady, knowing as he did the necessity for it. And this said Lady can entertain no doubt that if his Majesty had as much money (deniers) in his treasury as goodwill to supply the sum to the said Lady she would always find his purse open and at her service.

" As for sending her supplies of men, their Majesties have understood from various sources that the affairs of her kingdom are at this time in such peace and tranquillity, and she, to whom God has given so fine and desirable an heir, so revered and obeyed, that they confide that she has no desire but to reconcile her subjects with each other if there remains among them any enmity for the past, and to preserve her kingdom in peace and tranquillity, and this is why they have not thought it needful to give on this head any charge to the said M. de Mauvissière. But if matters are otherwise, which they cannot believe, and that the said Lady has need of assistance, she will let this be known, if she pleases, to the Sieur de Mauvissière, in order that at his return, he may report it to their said Majesties, who will always act in favour and for the aid of the said Lady, which she may promise herself and rely upon from princes the firmest and dearest friends to her in this world."—pp.15—17.

The death of Darnley followed, and the fatal affair of Bothwell; if disgraceful to the queen herself, assuredly far more disgraceful to the nation who suffered and their nobility who connived at, this insult to the royal dignity and their own. Prince Labanoff notices, 1567, the pregnancy of Mary by Bothwell, affirmed by Lingard, and her refusal to disavow him and illegitimatize his infant; this was a daughter, born 1568 at Lochleven, and who took the veil at Notre Dame de Soissons. The fact is stated by Le Laboreur in his Memoirs of Castelnau, and him the prince considers worthy of credit; the more as his confidential situation at the French Court (he was Royal Almoner and Counsellor) allowed him access to state secrets, and to the registers of the Convent of Soissons.

Mary now surrendered herself to Elizabeth (16 May), and the next letter in the collection, October 22, 1568, refers to the appointment of " Rosse, Hereis, and Kilvouin," as commissioners to York, where according to " Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow," nothing was done, though the Bastard of Scotland was present.

Two succeeding letters from Mary to the Duc de Nemours, May and October 1570, evince her anxiety as to any efforts making in her favour by her family, owing to the difficulty of communicating with them; the letters sent by M. de Pougny being now " old and still here" (Chatsworth).

A letter, June 1578, is to M. d'Humières, once in the service of Mary's first husband, and forwarding the expedition of some seignorial rights with many expressions of kind remembrance for his services: another letter, September 1580, accompanies a present

of two geldings for M. de Guise: and one from Sheffield, in February 1581, also to Castelnau, and desiring some boxes of dresses to be sent speedily from her tailor, declares also her vexation at being "counteracted by those of her counsel" in the gift of a benefice to this faithful envoy; "not choosing to suffer that her commands should be traversed as they have so often been, even in matters of her own." She owns her want of money for the payment of her attendants, and even for her own comfort:

"My malady has become much worse in the last four or five days, and though it has almost brought me to extremity, I have not been able to obtain any one thing necessary and requisite for my health. I am better now, but still feeble and attenuated. I could wish that the Queen of England, Madame my good sister, (!) would have some little regard to the things needful for the restoration and preservation of my health, and allow me to ride on horseback about this place when I recover. Request this, if you please, and send me an answer by the first opportunity."

Unfortunate queen! Her next letter, September 2, 1582, declares that if some amelioration of her captivity does not take place she has little hope of surviving the winter.

The complaints of Elizabeth against the French King and Court occupy the next letter, a despatch from Castelnau to Henry III; especially with regard to harbouring the traitors and rebels, "my lord Paget and his brother, Charles Arondel, and some others of their accomplices;" and to the communications maintained by the ambassador with various English nobles and others, and his interference with the affairs of the Queen of Scots. This produced a detailed recrimination on the ambassador's part.

"The said queen perceiving that I spoke in this fashion, and that I knew so much of her conduct by the allegation of infinite cases, she told me that she had thought she had reason to be angry with me, but that my complaints were the strongest. That she had trusted me as a brother in the affair of the marriage; but that now I had taken another course." * * *

The ambassador replied with firmness, alluding to the treatment of Mary in prison, and his duty to interfere.

"The queen, seeing that I spoke in this strain, and with so much truth and reasons so strong that she could not answer one of them, begged me to discontinue these remarks, and speak of something more agreeable: but I wished to obtain one conclusion, (namely) that she was greatly obliged to you and the queen your mother, in all cases, for the frank manner in which you acted towards her in general."

"Archubal Duglæ has requested me to lend him a thousand crowns. * * * The said Archubal, a man of quality and great merit, has refused a pension of two thousand crowns from the Queen of England."

We must pass over the letter of Henry III. to his sister and other passages, to extract one from Mary herself to Castelnau. Du Glas (Douglas) had not attended to her wish to remain out of Scotland.

"Especially do not let him know in any shape that you maintain the least secret communication in the world with me, for I perceive that the negociations carried on by Walsingham between you and him are only to discover, by the replies made by you on my part, whether you have still any means of communicating with me in secret. * * * Let them fancy what they please as to the means by which you learn my intentions."

In another letter she says—

"Beale is gone from here; * * * the report he has made of my replies and negociations with him, has been most maliciously perverted and interpreted by some of the council. He is no less angry than myself; for I have never said those things as they have been understood, and he has no way reported and related them thus. Walsingham has acted, I imagine, like his peers in matters of religion; he has cut and falsified the text."—p. 97.

On the 30th of October, 1584, she writes to urge Castelnau, on her intended removal from the custody of Lord Shrewsbury, to insist upon a rigorous examination of the reports about that nobleman and herself, spread by the countess; also to procure that her next keeper shall not be one of the pretenders to her crown, as her life would not be safe; and that it should be a personage of sufficient power and authority to guard this in the possible case of the Queen of England's death, &c.

In a letter dated simply the same year, Mary informs the ambassador, in enclosure, of the discussions between the English deputies and herself, which they desired should be kept profoundly secret! She states also that she had written strongly to her son, whom Elizabeth wished to detach from the French league and join in one with England, against this course. She adds—

"Tell Archubal Du Glas from me that I know for certain that this Queen has no desire to send him to Scotland; and hereon, that my opinion is that he should accept from her any appointment he receives, labouring by every demonstration in his power to assure Walsingham of his true attachment to the Queen of England, in order if possible to discover her intention with regard to myself and my son. And henceforth require him, from me, to try in conferring with Walsingham, and casually leading to the question of my freedom, to sound his opinion: and what he discovers pray apprize me of, if you please, by the first occasion."

We pass over Leicester's suspicious protestations of good-will, and the jealousy of Elizabeth towards Talbot, Rutland, and others,

supposed to be interested in behalf of the imprisoned queen; and whose accord and friendship had thrown Elizabeth into such distrust and anger, that according to Castelnau, who relates all the foregoing, "if she could ruin them she would do it," (p. 113.) Mildmay and Revel, he adds, were to remove her to the castle of Harford; it was said they wished to be excused the task; but "the people here are all so double (faced) and false in every word that one cannot place credit in them, nor assume any certainty."

The letters of the Queen of Scots to Mendoça, the Ambassador of Philip II., 30th of May, N. S. 1586, confirm the testament noticed by Robertson. Mary declares that in case her son, James, did not before her death embrace the Catholic faith, of which she saw little chance, she was determined to leave her right of succession to the king his master; as she felt a greater obligation to support the universal right of the Church than the interests of her posterity. She begs the Ambassador Mendoça to keep this resolution a profound secret, as if betrayed, "it would cause in France the loss of her dowry, in Scotland a rupture with her son, and in this country her total ruin and destruction."

In a subsequent letter to the same, Mary rejoices in the rising spirit of the French king against Elizabeth, and proceeds thus—

"You cannot conceive how the intelligence of the Earl of Leicester's exploits, and Drake's, have raised the spirit of the enemies of the said king throughout Christendom; and how his so long patience towards this Queen of England had lowered the confidence which all Catholics here have ever reposed in him. Myself, I will freely confess to you, was so disheartened from entering upon new pursuits, seeing the little effect of the past, that I have closed my ears to divers overtures and proposals of enterprizes, which have been made me these six months here by the said Catholics, having no means of giving them a satisfactory answer. But in what I have newly heard of the good intentions of the said King towards this quarter here, I have most amply detailed to the chiefs of the said Catholics a scheme which I have sent them with my opinion upon every point to determine on its execution conjointly; and to gain time I have directed them to send to you some one of them fully instructed, and with all diligence, to treat with you according to the general offers already made you, respecting all things which they will have to require in this affair from the said King your master, you can feel secure of them and their faith and word, which they have passed to me that faithfully and sincerely they will accomplish at the hazard of their lives what they will promise by their deputy, and therefore I beg you to give them all credit in the matter, as if I myself had sent them; they will inform you of the means of my escape hence, which I shall take upon myself to effectuate provided I am beforehand assured of the recourse to arms (des armes faictes)."

This letter is dated Chartley, 27th July, 1586, and requests the

twelve thousand crowns for her deliverance to be procured from the king, regretting that the last twelve thousand had profited her so little. The postscript is marked, Aug. 2.

It was about April, 1586, that Gifford and Maude obtained the confidence of Ballard and Morgan; and being thus connected with Mendoça, the Spanish Ambassador in France, and later, with Savage and Babington; so soon as the Queen of Scots had fairly committed herself by writing the above letter, Ballard was arrested by Walsingham's orders, August 4; and four days afterwards Mary was transferred to Tixal, and all her papers and jewels seized.

M. de Bellievre set out from Paris, November 17, and arrived on the 27th at Calais, where he received despatches from M. de Chateauneuf, praying him to use all speed as Elizabeth was urging on the trial of the unfortunate Mary. The wind, being contrary, detained him two or three days, but on the 28th he embarked, at midnight, and reached Dover at nine the next morning. Remaining there one day to recover such of his suite as had suffered from sea-sickness, he reached London, then a two-days journey, on Sunday, 1st of December, at noon. The next day he sent one of his gentlemen to the queen at Richmond, to request an audience. "As the malice of the queen was infinite," this was delayed, though the trial was pressed with activity; and a rumour, first of the plague at Calais, then of an apprehended attempt on Elizabeth's life, afforded the pretext for deferring the ambassador till the 7th of December.

When MM. Bellièvre and de Chateauneuf came into the presence, they delivered the remonstrances of the French king; to this Elizabeth replied by declaring that her own life had been thrice endangered by the attempts of Mary, and that these had cost her more tears than the loss of all her relatives. To the examples in history cited by the ambassadors, she answered, (and with characteristic vanity,) that she had seen and read more books in her life than a thousand others of her sex and quality, but had never met with so cruel an attempt as that made against herself by her kinswoman. She added, that she had found treason where she had placed confidence, and ingratitude for benefits conferred; and that she should shortly forward the proofs to the king and queen of France for them to judge. After expressing her regret to M. Bellièvre that the object of his mission was not more auspicious, she retired to her chamber.

The promised explanations being witheld, the ambassador had audience of leave the 15th of December; and on the 16th the sentence of Mary was pronounced; the city bells were rung for

twenty-four hours, and the inhabitants were commanded to light fires before their doors as on festivals. The rest is well-known.

We translate verbatim the farewell letter of the doomed and unfortunate queen to the Duke of Guise; its sad and earnest solemnity is well maintained by the christian patience of insult recorded at its close.

MARY STUART TO THE DUKE OF GUISE.

24 November, O. S. (4 December, N. S.) 1586.

My good Cousin, he whom I hold dearest in the world, I bid you adieu, being by unjust judgment on the point of being put to death so as none of our race before God has ever suffered, and least one of my station; but, my good Cousin, praise God for it, for I was useless to the world in the cause of God and his Church, being in the state I was, and hope that my death will testify my constancy in the faith, and readiness to die for the maintenance and restoration of the Catholic Church in this unfortunate island; and though never has executioner dipped hand in our blood, be not ashamed of it, my friend, for the judgment of heretics and enemies of the Church, and who have no jurisdiction over me, a free Queen, is profitable in the sight of God to the children of his Church. If I adhered to them I should not suffer this blow. All those of our house have all been persecuted by this sect, witness your good father, with whom I hope to be received into the mercy of the just judge. I recommend to you therefore my poor attendants, the discharge of my debts, and to cause some annual dirge (obit) to be founded for my soul, not at your cost, but to make solicitation and ordinance as shall be requisite, and you will understand my wishes by these my poor helpless attendants, ocular witnesses of this my last tragedy. May God prosper you, your wife, children, and brothers, and cousins, and especially our head, my good brother and cousin, and all his; the blessing of God and that which I should give to my children, may it be on yours; whom I recommend no less to God than my ill-fortuned and abused (one). You will receive some tokens (rings) from me, in order to remind you to cause prayers for the soul of your poor cousin, devoid of all aid and counsel but that of God, who gives me strength and courage singly to resist so many wolves howling against me, to God be the glory. Believe in particular what will be told you by a person who will give you a ruby ring from me, for I take it on my conscience that you will be told the truth of what I have directed, especially of what concerns my poor attendants, and the share of each. I recommend to you this person for her simple sincerity and honesty, that she may be placed in some good situation. I have chosen her as the least partial and who most simply will report my orders. I pray you that she be not known to have told you any thing in private, as jealousy might injure her. I have suffered much for two years and more, and could not let you know it for an important reason. God be praised for all, and give you the grace to persevere in the service of his Church so long as you live, and never may this glory depart from our race, that men as well as women we be ready to shed our blood to maintain the cause of the faith, all other

worldly considerations thrown aside; and for myself, I hold myself born on the paternal and maternal side, to offer my blood thus, and have no intention to degenerate. Jesus crucified for us, and all the holy martyrs render us, by their intercession, worthy the voluntary offering of our bodies to his glory. From Fotheringay, this Thursday 24 November.

"They had, to degrade me, caused my days (dais) to be pulled down, and then my keeper came to me offering to write to their Queen, saying not to have done this act by her command, but by the advice of some of her council. I shewed them instead of my arms on the said dais, the cross of my Saviour. You will understand all the conversation: they have been more kind since.

"Your affectionate Cousin and perfect friend,

"MARY, Q. of Scotland, D. of France."

The volume before us contains, beyond the Testament of the unfortunate Mary, a Memoir from M. Bellievre's departure till the 25th of February. Also, a letter from M. de Chateauneuf to Henry III. on the 27th, wherein he excuses his silence from the fact of the ports being so strictly guarded that he could not contrive to send off a messenger; a passport which he had obtained in a false name having only procured the arrest of the bearer at Dover, where he had been then detained from the 19th to the 27th of February. This document likewise contains the account of Mary's execution. A report of the same follows, and some letters detailing subsequent events bring us to the decree of the parliament of Paris which concludes the volume, except a few papers of minor importance contained in the supplement, and found during the process of printing the work.

A repertory of such papers and documents as were known to the Prince de Labanoff is given at the end, though this does not include the letters said to have been written by the unfortunate queen in July, 1586; to Mendoça and Paget on the 6th, to Babington on the 17th and 25th, and on the 27th of that month to Paget; her supposed love-letters also are omitted. It is, however, the Editor's intention to publish all these, as a supplement, in a complete collection.

Of the 352 pieces that form this Repertory, 164 have been already published; 35 are contained in the present volume, the remainder are believed by the prince to be inedited. The collection, too, to which we have alluded in the outset of this article is not included in the enumeration.

ART. V.—*The Agra Ukhbar, for* 1838.
The Calcutta Englishman.

DURING the latter part of the past session the attention of the Parliament was repeatedly directed to the late succession to the throne of Oude; a subject of no small importance, connected as it is with innumerable other interests in the affairs of the East, whether we view it as a matter of simple right or wrong, or as deeply involving the honour, the integrity, the honesty of those who controul the East India Company, and the character of the British nation.

It is a subject for very grave consideration on the part of the British nation, the vast extent of dominion which they possess in Asia; and the means by which they hope to preserve it; whether it is to be by rapine, injustice, fraud, and violence, or by the good will and affections of the population. The only permanent security must be in the latter, and no temporary advantage which can be obtained without it, will counterbalance the evils which the former course must ensure; and which ultimately and inevitably will, as it ought to do, lead to our expulsion from the soil of Asia.

It is certainly not a very pleasing task at the present moment to contemplate the precarious state in which our interests in India are reduced, from a variety of external as well as internal causes. The supineness, and even apathy, of the British public to these interests, and also to the welfare of our oriental empire, is an evil of the greatest magnitude, since it has sanctioned an accumulation of wrongs and injuries, as ruinous to our character and to the stability of our eastern sway, as they are destructive to the peace and welfare of the Indian community.

But for the presence of the Prince of Oude, Ekbal-ood Dowlah, in London, the recent session would have passed over, and those most extraordinary scenes and proceedings which had so lately taken place at Lucknow, and are thereby obtruded upon our notice, would have been buried in oblivion; and, like innumerable other instances of injustice and oppression, have increased the doleful catalogue of Indian crime, perpetrated by our governors, which, sooner or later, must inevitably lead to resistance. It is quite out of the order of things to suppose that a community of one hundred and twenty millions of people, who are every day becoming more and more enlightened, will submit much longer to a tyrannical sway. The germs of internal discontent are numerous and powerful; so much so, that if once put in action, the united efforts of the British nation never could repress the inevitable consequences. It must be recollected that besides the

natives themselves, who as a nation dislike us, there has sprung up a tolerably numerous population, the offspring of British subjects, amounting now to little short of a million of people, who from their cradles have been the object of contempt to Englishmen, and even to the upper classes of natives, and the victims to an unnatural, cruel, and unnational policy. By birth and education Christians; by the neglect, if not indirect persecution, of the government, thousands of them have been driven to embrace heathenism. They have been subjected to all the rigour of Mohomedan laws, and denied the benefit of British institutions. In these ill-used and persecuted individuals, the time will come when Great Britain may have sincerely to deplore the not having alleviated their condition in society and cultivated their affections; instead of holding them up, as they have ever done, to the native population as beyond the pale of British society. Of this subject we may speak more fully at a future period; but we have considered it requisite to say this much now, by way of illustrating some one of the actual and positive dangers with which our Eastern empire is beset. We do not do this as a matter of complaint; for it has too long ceased to be considered, even by the aggrieved party, as worthy of further appeal to the mother country: nor as having any hope of amelioration or redress, until those revolutions take place in the mental and physical powers of the Indian community, which will induce them to assume as a right that which has been constantly denied them as a matter of justice, not to say favour.

Our Eastern empire has latterly presented a most calamitous picture of famine, disease, pestilence, and death. Thousands of human beings have fallen victims to these; the rivers in some places being literally blocked up with the dead, and in many towns no hands to bury them. In this dreadful state of affairs the utmost alarm was excited by apprehensions of internal commotion in our north-west frontier territories, from the violent and most extraordinary measures which had been pursued, on the death of the late King of Oude, with regard to the appointment of a successor.

It is in vain we look to our external position for an alleviation of our troubles. For some time past the government of India has been making preparations of a defensive character against an approaching second war with the Burmese; and in which the latter have threatened to become the aggressors. In Assam, one of the provinces conquered from the Burmese, some conflicts had actually taken place between the troops of the two nations. The Nepaulese, again, who flank or skirt our provinces of Bengal for a space of 600 miles, have been placing the whole chain

of these interminable mountains, covered with forests, in a state of defence, avowedly for the purpose of taking the part of the Burmese, in the event of war with the latter.

What consequences such a combination of interests on the part of the Burmese and Nepaulese might produce, it is not difficult to conjecture. The whole line of our frontier, from the point of Teck-Nauff, the southern extremity of the province of Chittagong, in the bay of Bengal, to the provinces of Oude, which are also partially skirted by Nepaul, would be exposed to the attack of those hardy mountaineers, whom neither toil or danger appears to daunt. However softened or concealed for political purposes, the defeat of the British troops by the Burmese in 1824, on the plains of Ramoo, must be fresh in the recollection of the public, and their occupation of the lower part of the province of Chittagong for six months in defiance of the British power: from this they afterwards withdrew, only to meet the war we had commenced in Ava. The desperate and arduous contest we there entered upon, occasioned not only a most deplorable loss of human life, but a sacrifice of twelve millions and a half of English money. The sanguinary conflicts between the British troops and the Nepaulese in 1813 and 1814 cannot be forgotten, nor the extreme difficulty with which we maintained our footing in the country we had invaded. The affair of Kallunga, where General Gillespie fell; the defeat and retreat of General Sullivan Wood with dreadful loss, from before the stockade at Bootwah; the massacre of Captain Blackney and his detachment of 300 men at Summonpore; the murderous attack upon Captain Sibley at Pursa Gurry, when he was killed, and his detachment of about 400 men nearly annihilated; are so many instances in proof of what the Nepaulese are competent to do, and may be received as no slight evidence of the probable effects of combinations such as that to which we refer.

Looking to the north-west of Hindostan we find every indication, at no very distant day, of conflicts which our friend and ally Runjeet Sing, whose dominions skirt our frontiers, will be engaged in with the northern part of India, threatening the most disastrous consequences, and to lead in all probability to an extensive invasion of our possessions; an invasion, the results of which must be considered very doubtful, encouraged, as it is believed to be, if not positively supported, by Russia. Certain it is that Russia, in 1819, sent an expedition *en route* to India, to see if it were practicable for an army, conducted upon the principles of modern warfare, to cross the Indian Caucasus, or the great range of northern mountains. The report was favourable to the enterprize. At the present moment there has been another

Russian expedition sent to Khiva and Bokhara, with the possible object of surveying the territories comprised between the Oxus and the Caspian Sea.

At the fair of Niznei Novogorod, where the Emperor of Russia was present, his majesty "summoned many of the chiefs from eastern countries, and those from Cabool, Candahar, &c. were treated with great honor." Now we find also by the Delhi Gazette, that Dost Mahommed Khan, the chief of Cabool, was making every preparation for carrying on a war against Runjeet Sing; and of which he had given due notice to the Nazims of Peshawar. It appears that Dost Mahommed Khan very recently, with a naked sword in his left hand, and the Koran in his right, had walked into the Choke Bazar of Cabool, where all the principal inhabitants were assembled, and declared to them with tears in his eyes, that "*formerly he fought with Runjeet Sing for the sake of his country; but now he must fight for religion;* therefore, if he failed in the war, their religion would be polluted by Kaffirs (Christians)." It seems that the multitude in reply told him, to "take the field against Runjeet Sing, and they were all ready to follow him."

It would by this appear that it was a religious crusade these barbarians were about to wage against Runjeet Sing, with whom it is more than probable the British will be obliged constantly to unite in offensive operations, to prevent, if possible, the evils from extending into their own dominions.

It is with very great reluctance that we refer to these events; but it is only by an exposure of the truth that we can hope for remedies to be applied to the evils. We must, however, reluctantly confess, that we look with despair for any such effort from the present ministers of the crown. Ever since the Whigs have been in power our Asiatic dominions have been placed in great jeopardy by mal-administration. The only rule and order, as far as we have been enabled to trace their deeds, has been a total disregard of the civil rights of the community, and a callous infringement upon the rights of our neighbours, with an indifference absolutely monstrous, for solemn and heretofore binding treaties. Of the former we have a conclusive sample in what is called Mr. Babington Macauley's '*Black Act*,' which, Sir John Cam Hobhouse says, "*had not been adopted by the Governor-General of India,—but circulated through the Presidencies in order to obtain the opinion upon it of those functionaries who were best able to judge of its merits.*"

This is certainly one of the many strange and incomprehensible official declarations of her majesty's present ministers, which really makes honest men blush at the apparent total disregard for truth.

Just so, also, Sir John Hobhouse with regard to his declaration, that the *Black Act* "*had not been adopted*," while we have the astounding fact that it was published in "*The Calcutta Gazette*," as to be in full force "*from the 15th day of November*, 1837;" and after which day it was ordained "*that no native of India shall quit the territories under British rule without an order from the government.*"

The ministers of the crown might well be ashamed to avow giving countenance to this atrocious "*New Penal Code*," which goes to make virtual prisoners of one million and twenty thousand of British subjects in Asia, as well as to subject Europeans, all over the country, to be tried by black judges, without a jury, for all sorts of offences,—and according to their caprice or judgment the former may be imprisoned for years or transported to a penal settlement, or even banished for ever from India. They are, it is true, to be tried by British law, but this is a mockery; for of the elements of it, or of the law itself, neither the black judge, nor the black counsel, know anything. We may analyze this law at a future period, and endeavour to expose some of its most monstrous absurdities and oppressions.

To revert to the subject from which we have digressed, the Oude affairs;—and in which the conduct of her Majesty's ministers, as far as we can judge from the documents which Sir John Hobhouse, most reluctantly, consented to lay upon the table of the House of Commons, appears in a very exceptionable light. Instead of manfully avowing the orders and instructions which were sent out by the Board of Control to regulate the succession to the throne of Oude, and also for the seizure upon the remaining territories of that king, guaranteed to him under a solemn treaty in 1801, when the reigning sovereign ceded one half of his dominions as the condition upon which himself and his heirs should be secured in their possession of the remainder, Sir John Hobhouse has produced a variety of papers which go to implicate the British residents at Lucknow, and also the Governor-General, in transactions of a remarkable and suspicious character; and which, if the documents that have been withheld were produced, might be traced perhaps to a higher quarter. Orders were sent to India authorizing the seizure of the territories of Oude; the production of those orders have been declined by Sir John Hobhouse; and through fear and shame the Board of Control have refused to ratify the treaty concluded under them with the new King of Oude, by the Governor-General of India, and acted upon by the latter. If the Board of Control were really free from all participation in the terms of the treaty with which they repudiate all connection,—why have they not

instantly recalled Lord Auckland from the seat of power? Why allow him to continue to discharge the functions of so high and important a trust after he stands so lowered, if not debased, in the minds of the Indians by the act of his own servant?

With the question as to who is the legal heir, whether as regards the succession according to Mohammed or English law, we need not enter upon it now. But we must direct the attention of our readers to the monstrous fact, that the present reigning sovereign of Oude was dragged out of his bed in the middle of the night, and compelled, as the terms upon which he should ascend the throne, to sign a "deed of engagement," in which he says, "*I hereby declare, that in the event of my being placed upon the throne I will agree to sign any new treaty that the Governor-General may dictate.*"

Probably the history of the world cannot produce so remarkable an event upon the succession of a sovereign to a throne, or one that has been, in its execution, so replete with calamity as this most atrocious proceeding.

We need not not enter into details of a transaction that has so justly created astonishment in the mind of every one acquainted with the circumstances even as detailed in the statements made by Colonel Low the acting resident in this business. The sudden death of Nusseer-ood-deen-Hyder induced an attempt, on the part of his widow, to seize the crown for an adopted grandchild. Colonel Low informed of the circumstance instantly determined upon placing the present occupant on the throne of Oude; and we give merely the extract from the parliamentary papers of the unconditional terms.

"*Translation of a Deed of Engagement, executed by Nawaub Nusseer-ood-Dowlah, on the Night of the 7th of July*, 1837.

"Lieutenant-colonel John Low, the resident, has apprised me through Lieutenant Shakspeare, his second assistant, of the death of Nusseer-ood-deen-Hyder, King of Oude. The resident has also communicated to me the substance of the orders of the Government of India, respecting the necessity of new engagements on the part of the Company's Government with the Oude state; and I hereby declare, that in the event of my being placed on the throne, I will agree to sign any new treaty that the Governor-General may dictate.

(True translation.)

(signed) *J. Low*, Resident.

N.B.—At the foot of the Persian paper the present king wrote the words "Cubool wo Munzoor ust," and affixed the impression of his seal. (signed) *J. Low*, Resident.

The minute of the Governor-General Lord Auckland while approving the promptitude and decision evinced by the resident

generally throughout this affair, and the violent proceedings that ensued, yet has expressed doubts as to the propriety of the particular act of requiring the engagement. We quote the passages from his lordship's minute.

" I would not, without further consideration, and on the very brief notices which we at present possess, venture to express any final opinion on the important events which have taken place at Lucknow; but I am prepared at once to approve and sanction the general policy which Colonel Low has followed in admitting the claims of Nusseer-ood Dowlah to the throne of Oude. The title of that prince to the sovereignty appears, according to the most established rules of succession in the Mahomedan law, to be indisputable, and by those rules it is most fitting that we should in the present instance be guided.

" I will take an early opportunity of submitting to the Council the ulterior measures which in my opinion should be adopted. For any criticism in detail on the measures adopted by Colonel Low we must wait for further accounts, but I may now say that I should undoubtedly have been better pleased if he had not in this moment of exigency accepted the unconditional engagement of submissiveness which the new king has signed. This document may be liable to misconstruction, and it was not warranted by anything contained in the instructions issued to Colonel Low. The views of his government, as but recently expressed to that officer, are defined and moderate, and from this circumstance, as well as from the new king's character and position, there could in any case have been little doubt of his willingness to adapt his conduct to those views."

The death of the late king was sudden it appears, but he had long been ailing; and it does seem not a little singular that no preparation for the event, so momentous as it proved, should have been made in the councils of the Governor-General; for had such been the case Colonel Low would not have been driven to the fatal expedient of treating in the name of Great Britain a friendly sovereign as a mere slave, glad to obtain promotion on any terms required by his masters. If the engagement was in truth not warranted by the instructions, as Lord Auckland specifically declares, and if the views of his government are so " defined and moderate," as stated, it seems strange that Colonel Low should neither have understood their definiteness nor suspected their moderation, though he was the person principally concerned in keeping these points in view. Was that otherwise able and meritorious officer unapprised of these official facts? Was he led by previous experience to imagine and attribute very different views to the Indian government? Or did he, which is scarcely possible, choose to fly in the face of ALL instructions.

If the latter, by any strange hallucination, was really the case, we would fain ask whether sufficient time had not elapsed since

July 11, 1837, if not before it, for Lord Auckland to have expressed something more than the hypothetical feeling of being better pleased if an act contrary to all "defined and moderate views" had not taken place? And here we would inquire, has so flagrant a breach of affirmed instructions been repudiated on his lordship's part? Lord Auckland's personal character and amiability are well known, but it is not a case of mere feelings; his public duty to the government and the country, whose fame is tarnished by so flagitious a precedent in political affairs, required a far stronger mark of disapprobation than his Minute, referred to, contains; the more since, as he observes, the new king's character and position left little doubt of his willingness to accede to moderate views, if required of him.

But the proceeding so gently and gracefully censured by his lordship is nevertheless accepted by him also. Yes, the Governor-General of England in India, declaring a proceeding suspicious and unwarranted (it must be allowed this is done most delicately) yet makes himself a partner to that suspicious and unwarranted step in preference to the "defined and moderate views" he had entertained, and with such singular, disinterested felicity, until the moment arrived for gaining more by the contrary course. "Fortunate senex! ergo tua rura manebunt."

It is, or at least used to be, generally considered that the higher, as well as the inferior, appointments of the British government imposed as the first necessity the maintenance of the metropolitan country's honour:—we have recently however been blessed with an example or two of the freedom of great functionaries abroad from the responsibilities of abusing or deserting their trust. Consequently, in the instance before us, not only is the actor in this asserted unwarranted course retained in full favour in his office, but the very superior who first saw and pointed out the dishonour and disobedience of the act, and then abetted it, retains also his appointment by the favour of the ministry at home.

"Forgad—this is a better song than the other!"

It is assuredly far from our wish to ask any unpleasant questions, and we shall carefully avoid them; we therefore entirely repress our curiosity to know,

1st. How the resident, evidently an able man, came to misunderstand or defy his instructions.

2nd. How the Governor-General could at once censure and adopt the engagement.

3d. Why the ministry at home should acquiesce in these two extraordinary and contradictory acts—and not recall the self-condemned Governor-General.

More than all, we should like to be informed who issued the

aforesaid recent instructions, and whether any others, of a different tendency, had been given out from any quarter. In fact, whether the views so happily emphatized as "but recently expressed" had been preceded by any thing less "defined and moderate."

We abstain, however, from all interrogatories, because any thing like an opposition between public orders and declarations and secret despatches is not to be thought of, unless in the case of Jesuits, or of the Russian government: and our admiration at the magnanimity wherewith the poco-curante and poco-sapiente ministry behold the injury inflicted on the national reputation by such deeds, is equalled only by our reverence of the resignation with which they submit to receive every advantage that can be obtained by any means. With so acquiescent a disposition on their parts it may be pleasant for the new King of Oude to know that—

"It will be matter for our consideration, in what manner some modifications of the existing treaty shall be framed, under which the British Government might have more power to prevent or remedy mal-administration, and by withdrawing from the obligation, still existing in terms, although it has long ceased to be recognised as binding in practice, of exercising a complete and minute interference by means of its own troops, in defence of the Oude government, be less liable to responsibility for all its acts, and the ordinary course of its internal policy, and this with increase of advantage, rather than injury, in rendering disposable our own military means, and without admitting, on the other hand, the formidable growth of an armed and unchecked independence.

"The occasion for some modifications of the existing treaty is most favourable; the late treaty has been too constantly disregarded by the sovereigns of Oude, in their continued and most embarrassing rejection or evasion of all our advice for the good government of their country, not to justify us, if it should seem expedient, in insisting upon our placing the right of acquitting ourselves of our responsibility upon a clear and admitted basis, and we may avail ourselves of the opportunity offered without reproach or suspicion, provided that our efforts are faithfully directed only to objects of security, and tranquillity, and good government, and are without the taint which schemes of acquisition in money and in land would give them; schemes as repugnant to my own designs and feelings, as they have been ever disavowed by the honourable Court, and by each successive Governor-General, in discussing the grave question of the position in which events have placed us, both towards the Oude ruler and people.

11 July, 1837. (signed) *Auckland.*"

This reluctance to interfere upon "our responsibility," the determination "of acquitting ourselves of it," and this horror of the "taint which schemes of acquisition in money and in land" inspire into each successive Governor-General is easily intelligible. The

repudiated act of Colonel Low renders the "scheme of acquisition" of the latter superfluous; and the "repugnance of Governors-General" to schemes of acquisition of the former is really touching; and considering the state of that unhappy treasury of Oude, it was also well-timed: though after reading the following extracts from older documents we ought, but for this avowal, to have suspected that the real repugnance had previously been to leave any thing in it.

The Oriental Herald, a publication of extraordinary talent and interest, in a notice of a recently published work contains this passage:—

"In the private letter of Colonel Baillie* to Mr. Edmonstone, dated 19th October, 1814, which from its contents was evidently never intended for publicity, and which never would have met the public eye had not dissension appeared in the camp, are to be found the following words, and they are a text on which much might be preached:—'I was desired to propose to the Nawaub that his Excellency should propose to Lord Moira to make a voluntary loan to the Company, of a sum of a crore of rupees. This having been done, his lordship, in a letter to the Vice President in Council, dated 29th October, says, 'At a subsequent conference, his Excellency *solicited* my acceptance of the sum as a free gift;' and again in the same letter, 'His Excellency the Vizier tendered to me as a proof of his friendship, and the cordial interest which he feels in the prosperity of the Honorable Company, an accommodation of a crore of rupees.' These are the secrets of the prison-house and with a vengeance, and a fine specimen of the voluntary principle they are. Du Val, the highwayman, was a joke to the most noble the Marquis of Hastings, though his words may bear something of the same sort of interpretation."—*Or. Herald for October*, p. 329.

This, be it observed, occurred in October, 1814, and we extract the fitting sequel from the book itself under review, the work of Captain White, who has the merit of bringing these singularly honourable proceedings before the public at present. Quoting from a letter referred to, the author observes, speaking of the then Vizier Sovereign of Oude—

"Saadut Alie, having been '*driven*,' as Lord Hastings says, to '*actual desperation*' by his lordship's letter, had been soothed down by private communications, that the loan of a million and a quarter sterling would make him good friends with his lordship. His lordship, no doubt, was well pleased with this, as it avoided his '*being forced in self-defence to possess himself of Saadut Alie's dominions and riches.*' The English of which is, that as there was no money in Calcutta, or in any of the local treasuries, he must have it whereever it was to be found, either by stratagem, fraud, or force.

* English resident at Oude.

"It is rather important here to show how these far-famed '*voluntary loans*' of Lord Hastings were obtained. We have already seen how the first million and a quarter was obtained; let us take a slight glance at the manner in which the second was procured, as well as how the first was disposed of the moment it was obtained. Upon the latter point his lordship, being upon remarkable good terms with himself, says—

"'My surprise is not to be expressed when I was shortly after informed, from Calcutta, that it had been deemed expedient to employ fifty-four lacs of the sum obtained by me in discharging an eight-per-cent loan; that the remainder was indispensable for current purposes; and that it was hoped I should be able to procure from the Nawaub Vizier a further aid for the objects of the war. This took place early in autumn (1814), and the operations against Nepaul could not commence until the middle of November, on which account the council did not apprehend my being subject to any sudden inconvenience through its disposal of the first sum. Luckily I was upon such *frank* terms with the Nawaub Vizier, that I could explain to him freely my circumstances. He agreed to furnish another crore of rupees; so that the Honourable Company was accommodated with two millions and a half sterling upon my simple receipt.'"

"By this it is clear that the Council of Calcutta, as well as his lordship, were determined to plunder the Nawaub of every shilling he had." pp. 70—72.

The Whig statesman who procured so much money, if not to the honour at least to the *credit* of the British name in India, had not concluded his manœuvring.

"Mr. Rickets, in December, 1814, writes to Major Baillie to inform the Nawaub of 'the high gratification which his lordship would experience, were the Nawaub to prove his anxiety for the British welfare by the tender of another loan to Government,' of a second crore of rupees. Upon the 18th of February he again writes—

"'His Lordship is most anxious to hear the result of your negociation with the Nawaub for further pecuniary aid, as without another crore (£1,250,000) Government may experience the most serious embarrassment.'"

"Upon the 19th Major Baillie replies—

"'I have at length obtained from his Excellency a direct offer of fifty lacs of rupees, in a letter addressed to Lord Moira; and I assure you, with great truth, that this offer has been obtained with a difficulty which induced me more than once to despair of the smallest success to my labours. His Excellency has been led to entertain notions of our Government very opposite to the professions of disinterestedness which I was in the* *habit of conveying* to him about the time of his accession to the musnud.'"

This, as our readers will perceive, was not only unfortunate but unreasonable; though appearances might perhaps have been

* These italics are ours.

deemed somewhat suspicious: the good major however indignantly proceeds—

"Some miscreants have endeavoured to persuade him, that the object of all our proceedings is to plunder him of his wealth, and, when he has no more money, to take his country; and that his minister is in league with us to this end."—p. 72.

Captain White's narrative thus proceeds—

"The offer of fifty lacs was promptly refused by Lord Hastings. Major Baillie was directed to try again his 'admirable skill,' to state any thing and every thing he could think of to induce the usurper, as "his tendering further pecuniary assistance to his lordship at that juncture would be most thankfully received by his lordship;' and that "the money would be merely wanted to meet the present exigency;' and he was instructed to state, that he knew 'his lordship would only "accept it on the condition of its being received as a temporary loan, "payable, with interest, by kists (instalments), in two, three, or four "years.' 'The times are, in truth,' says Mr. Rickets, 'most critical. "There is no hope of subscriptions to a six-per-cent loan; and to open "a public loan on higher terms would be a most unjust and unwarrantable procedure towards the six-per-cent creditors; and yet, according to a statement just received by his lordship from Mr. Edmonstone, nearly three crore of rupees, in addition to our surplus "revenues, will be required to meet the war extraordinaries up to the "30th of April, 1816.' 'Therefore,' says Mr. Rickets, 'unless you "can enable me to rejoice his lordship by informing him that you have "succeeded in getting another crore of rupees from the vizier, fifty lacs "from the Begum, and fifty lacs from your monied men, we shall be in "a very deplorable state.'"—pp. 72—73.

We find further—

"Major Baillie, in reply to Mr. Rickets' demand, stated it 'to be "expedient, if not indispensable, that a letter from Lord Moira to the "Vizier, in answer to that which had made the offer of the crore "of rupees, should be written to enable him to commence the negotiation for another crore.' Major Baillie then suggests a variety of excuses for his lordship to make; and he says—

"'A letter of this kind, I am certain, would have a much greater "effect on his Excellency than any representation on my part without "such introduction on the subject. It would show his Excellency at "once that the obligation which he has the means of conferring is to be "conferred upon the Governor-General, and it would frustrate the mischievous designs of his Excellency's enemies and ours, who are strenuously labouring to convince him that it is the minister who, supported by me, is gradually robbing him of his money, with the view "of obtaining for himself the approbation and support of Lord Moira, "and of exhausting his Excellency's sources of independence and power, "which those miscreants represent to him as consisting exclusively of "his wealth.'"

"Mr. Rickets instantly replied, 'His lordship is so sensible of your "thorough knowledge of the Nawaub's character, and so confident in "your judgment, that he has no hesitation in adopting the opinions "which you may form of the mode best calculated to secure the object "in view.' A letter was accordingly written; but what the contents were we know not, it does not appear upon record. It is sufficient that, in a few days, Major Baillie wrote, 'At length, my dear Adam, this "most arduous and vexatious negotiation is brought to a happy con-"clusion; a complete crore of rupees is secured by the letter this in-"stant received.' 'My dear Baillie,' says Adam, 'I have little time to "write; but I must congratulate you on the success of your efforts to "get another crore from his Excellency. It *must have been a most un-"gracious* task.*'"—pp. 74—75.

A somewhat similar repugnance to supplies from the treasury of the Nawaub Vizier of Oude was manifested more delicately by one of the "successive Governors-General," who however satisfied himself, among other schemes of praiseworthy economy, with merely quartering upon Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder any person whose claims might be inconvenient, or whose residence expensive, at the Court of Calcutta. The enlarged intellect and commensurate wants of the Marquis of Hastings could act only upon a scale of grandeur: the pedling and narrow spirit of his successor lived to display itself only in minor cases and with a sedulous addiction to political economy. Painters, artists, and even publications of serious expense were recommended from time to time to the munificence of the native prince; and not to particularize the former, we shall merely allude to the edition of the great Persian historical poem of Ferdusi, which after thirty years labour on the part of its learned and sagacious editor, Major Macan, saw the light only through the liberality or weakness of the King of Oude, when the Anglo-Indian government had refused to incur the expense!

The magnificent disclaimer of the present Governor-General, above cited, does not quite agree with all the facts, either preceding or subsequent to its publication. We refer to the order put forth by the British resident at Lucknow and published in the Delhi Gazette, February 21, 1838, as quoted by Captain White (Prince of Oude, p. 158, 159), respecting the levy of the auxiliary force in the dominions of that prince: the English thus are absolute masters of the country, though in the treaty signed by the Marquis Wellesley, 1801, it was definitively stated that, upon certain concessions then made, the British should advance no further claims whatever upon those dominions.

Lord Auckland is particularly unfortunate in his public docu-

* These italics are ours.

ments, when he so loftily disclaims on the part of successive Governors-General any desire of aggrandizement. His lordship could not have had the following document before his eyes. It speaks for itself of the treachery we denounced in a preceding number (October, 1838), on the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings: and be it observed that this is the latter's own statement of his own conduct.

"There is, however, in India, a principle capable of superseding the most thorough conviction of interest, or even the strongest personal wishes. Certain acknowledged public obligations are held by the Native Princes so binding on what they call their Hormut, or plighted honour to society, that no consideration can induce them to palter with the constructive pledge. Among these were the professed, though antiquated dependencies on the house of Timour: the Sovereign of Oude was the nominal Vizier of the Mogul Empire. Perhaps the only pretence which any forecasting enemy can have imagined likely to awaken sensation, would be the restoration of efficient rule to the house of Timour. While such a war-cry would have been a call on the fealty of the Sovereign of Oude as professedly Vizier of the Empire, the claim upon him would have had the additional force of an ostensible Mahomedan cause. To break ties which might eventually be so injurious to us, appeared to me to be of the highest importance. * * * * I had often ruminated on that chance. I thence eagerly availed myself of a mortification, which I could perceive the Nawaub Vizier felt acutely from its having occurred within my sight. Two brothers of the King of Delhi resided at Lucknow, supported by allowances granted partly by the Honourable Company partly by the Nawaub Vizier; notwithstanding their partial dependence on the latter for subsistence, etiquette assigned to them in the street, [*sic*] it was incumbent that the elephant on which he was riding should be made to kneel, in token of homage. It was to an occasion of this sort that I have just alluded; I caught the opportunity of saying to the Nawaub Vizier, that to continue such demonstration of inferiority must rest with himself alone, for the British Government did not require the manifestation of such submission to the Delhi family, and *had itself dropped those servile forms*, with which it had heretofore *unbecomingly* complied. Having reason to think that this *instigation* would work upon the Nawaub Vizier's reflection, I directed the resident (Colonel Baillie) to watch and encourage any apparent disposition in that Prince to emancipate himself. The mode which would naturally suggest itself to the Nawaub Vizier, as being the only one sufficient to account satisfactorily to India at large for his rejection of future prostration to the house of Timour, was his assumption of the Kingly title. It was likely that he would distantly sound the Resident on the subject. I therefore instructed the latter, that were any supposition of the sort hypothetically thrown out, he should seize it, and bring it immediately to a distinct understanding; intimating his persuasion that the British Government would readily recognize such a title, if assumed by the Sovereign of Oude, provided it made no change in the relations and formularies between the two states, or altered the manner in which British subjects,

permitted by our Government to visit Lucknow, had hitherto been received. The expected procedure took place. The Sovereign of Oude's assumption to the title of King, was treated by the Court of Delhi with undisguised indignation. The offensive animadversions were keenly resented by the Court of Lucknow, and an irreparable breach between those two Mahomedan States is avowed."—*Pr. of Oude*, pp. 115—117.

We think nothing attributed to Russia or to France can equal, certainly exceed, this course of treachery and treason to an ancient and helpless ally, the Mogul Emperor: comment is superfluous.

Having been careful to select only such facts as are borne out by the confession of the parties themselves, or by official documents, we are the less disposed to concur with Captain White in the censures passed without such precaution. Thus, for instance, his allusion to the conduct of the late Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth) is more than open to question, since at the time it occurred it was fresh upon the public mind; an attempt to throw a slur upon that conscientious functionary was preparing, but was met with so much promptitude of explanation and defiance that even the puny adversaries whose ignorance was equalled only by their malice, durst not bring forward the question. We need not therefore recur to it further than to wish that Captain White had used more caution in this case. We have in our hands the memorandum of a gentleman long since deceased, whose residence for twenty-seven years in India enabled him to judge, and whose own honour and integrity, acknowledged by the offer of three successive re-appointments after his retirement from thence by the East India Company in England, and still more unquestionably by the native as well as British residents in his own neighbourhood, and where he held one of the highest offices in the Company's gift, is the surest guarantee, if any such could by possibility be needed, for the perfect blamelessness, the high worth, and anxious and pains-taking integrity of that nobleman. It was written long after interest could possibly actuate; long after the testimony could ever come to the ears of the exemplary deceased. It runs thus:—

"These gentlemen (the accusers) are anxious only to prove they know nothing whatever about what they are cavilling at. There never was a more honest, just, impartial, and strictly conscientious man than Sir John Shore; and the pains he took to sift the question showed him desirous only to do justice to everybody."

We shall notice only, in favour of our argument respecting the flagitiousness of the proceeding, not yet, so far as we know, explained by Lord Auckland or the ministry to the British parliament, three opinions expressed by gentlemen in situations *subordinate* to the Governor-General, and guarded accordingly.

"MINUTE.

"I concur with the right honourable the Governor-General in the views stated in the foregoing minute, with exception of that part of it which disapproves of Lieutenant-Colonel Low having taken the agreement (of which he has sent a copy) from the new King of Oude. The moderation which it will, *I have no doubt*, be the object of Government to observe, in any new arrangement with that state, will only be the more conspicuous after this occurrence, which I think calculated to prevent much intrigue, and perhaps painful discussion. It is also in my mind a matter deserving of high praise that the resident at such a moment should have shown himself so fully alive to the public interests; besides Colonel Low seems to have followed the rule similar to that which was ordered by Government on a former occasion; see Colonel Bailie's despatch of the 12th July, 1814, announcing the demise of the Vizier. 11 July, 1837. (signed) W. Morison."

Copies of the Minutes of the Governor-General, &c. ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 17 *July*, 1838.—p. 14.

As this Colonel Bailie has already figured in our article, our readers may fairly suspect the value of his example; if indeed the allusion be not a covert satire upon his imitators, in the shape of special pleading.

"MINUTE.

"I concur in the sentiments expressed by Colonel Morison. Every allowance must be made for the hurry and confusion which prevented any deliberation as to the nature of the engagement required from the king; the more general the terms, the more was left for the Government to deal with the question according to its own views, while any specific conditions might have led to embarrassment.

11 July, 1837. (signed) H. Shakespear."

Idem, Ib.

If the terms were so general that the Governor could deal with the question just according to its own views, we know nothing more illustrative of our opinions. A third minute is still more decisive, if possible.

"MINUTE.

"I do not feel prepared to give a decided opinion as to the policy of placing Nusseer-ood-Dowlah on the throne of Oude. If, being the paramount power in India, we are responsible for protecting the people of Oude from the evils of bad government, the policy of the measure may be very questionable. 11 July, 1837. (signed) A. Ross."

Idem, Ib.

For the various particulars of the question of succession we refer our readers to Captain White's volume and to the able and judicious article in the very valuable periodical* we have quoted, displaying a sound acquaintance with the particulars and general principles of the case, and of Indian affairs at large.

* Oriental Herald for October 1838.

Our remarks have run to so great a length that we regret that we have little space to spare for the notice of a work of first rate importance to all who would wish to understand the real state of India. The character of the natives, of the English government, its political and judicial administration, its assumption of unjust powers and constant interference in the domestic concerns as well as the public sway of the native princes; the value of the territories held by the latter, the mode of their rule, and the oppressions they suffer, under the name of support, from the British government; in short every detail of any importance in the political system of Hindostan is here laid down with a bold and vigorous hand. The author, a younger son of the late Lord Teignmouth, and himself unfortunately removed by death from a sphere where his talents and hereditary judgment, his clear-sightedness and freedom of thought and language rendered him invaluable as a firm and resolute foe to abuse, has yet left to his native country a noble legacy in the work before us.* Amongst the advantages of high birth and station it is not the least that it creates a factitious feeling to aid and support the moral elevation of the mind, and if it does not altogether bestow, it at least cherishes this in the earliest stage of its existence: it is the very poetry of caste: not pride, but a nobler sentiment, a sense of inborn superiority to the sordid and grovelling portion of our nature, to the baser suggestions of want and accident, to the tortuous windings of sinister interests, to all that in the intercourse of life perverts and pollutes the fountain of Being, from its very source through every channel that might otherwise purify society. In some instances, it is true, it suffers deterioration, but not so frequently as the envious would imply. In spite of the vulgar outcry against rank and title, against an exclusive race and hereditary honours, these enshrine a spirit that cannot all mingle itself with earth; and dull and blind as utilitarianism can make it, must be the eye that cannot recognize in such distinctions a tendency of the mind, in even the rudest ages of society, to preserve its own aspirations undebased in the spirit of its children, through eternal generations.

The advantage strikes us with peculiar force in the present instance. The faults of the Indian system of government had been often railed at by those who were really, or were liable to the suspicion of being, prejudiced by accidental circumstances; and the very violence and often the hollowness of those complaints had induced a reluctance to give them any credit at all. But the writer before us was liable to no suspicion of low and interested

* Notes on Indian Affairs. By the Hon. Frederick John Shore, Judge of the Civil Court and Criminal Sessions of the District of Furrukhabad. In two volumes. London: Parker, West Strand. 1837.

motives; and the frank and polished tone of his animadversions have everywhere produced an effect that was, and would have been denied to angry vehemence. He was certainly one of those to whose efforts was due the praise of rendering the Anglo-Indian government amenable to reason; and though from our preceding strictures it will be seen that the change, even now, has not produced an Utopia, and under existing auspices may still be open to improvement, yet it is much to find with the author that

"A new era seems at length to have dawned upon this interesting country. Public attention has been much more directed, of late years, both in England and in India, to its concerns than formerly. The dislike of our rulers to have matters connected with the subject discussed, appears to have considerably lessened, and it seems to be the general opinion that the publication of temperate remarks, unexaggerated facts, and moderate suggestions of improvements, will be approved of by the public, and meet with attention from the constituted authorities."—*Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. i. p. 1.

"Ten or twelve years since, had any man in India ventured to publish such strictures on the Indian administration, he would most undoubtedly have been banished the country; and even as it is, the cautious and guarded tone in which the first papers were written, displays a strong contrast to the openness and freedom of those which follow."—*Ibid. Introduction*, pp. vii. viii.

The sound knowledge of, and thorough acquaintance with the subject possessed by the writer are obvious in every page. He seems never to have dreamed, like some sages nearer home, that practice and experience are derived by intuition; and as his strictures, unlike the generality who have touched upon the subject, were evidently dictated by an honest dislike of measures alone, the very men who originated these were half disarmed of their resentment. We cannot, with our limited space and information, pretend to discuss any one of the questions started by so competent a judge, and on the spot, and we therefore confine ourselves to simple extracts such as may best illustrate the subject of this article.

"Notwithstanding the numerous proofs that have been, and can still be, produced to the contrary, the dissatisfaction of the natives with their own governments, and their confidence in, and approbation of ours, is still maintained. The expedition to Rangoon, during the Burmese war, was undertaken in the full conviction of the existence of this feeling among the Burmese. It was anticipated that no sooner should our troops be landed there, than the people would flock to their liberators, and supply them with boats, provisions, and other necessaries, which would at once enable them to proceed to the capital. Yet what was the real state of the case? That to the last moment of our occupation of the enemy's territory, not until driven to it by starvation, did a single Burman hold any communication with our forces. The simple fact that they preferred their own government to ours, was too plain, and too morti-

fying to be admitted. It was necessary to soothe our vanity, and this was done by asserting that the whole population was driven off by the Burmese troops."—*Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. i. pp. 150, 151.

"Nor are the Burmese by any means a singular instance in this respect. I have travelled in several independent native states; and I do most confidently assert, that the mass of the people deprecate, above all things, their subjection to the British authority."—*Ibid.* p. 151.

"But it will be said, 'Oude is notoriously ill-governed; robberies and dacoities are of daily occurrence; troops are necessary to the collection of the revenue; and, in short, the people are groaning with oppression.' This is the point; by the help of the word 'notoriously,' the question is begged throughout. Let an impartial inquiry be made before it is pronounced that the frequency of crime is greater than in our own adjoining provinces. The fact may be strongly doubted. On the second point, is our assessment so light that no force is necessary for its collection?"—*Ibid.* pp. 154, 155.

"I will conclude by reminding my readers of the answer mentioned by Heber to have been received, by the British resident, from an inhabitant of Oude, whose opinion was asked as to the benefit they might expect from the occupation of the country by the British: 'Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that.'"—*Ibid.* p. 157.

"The prospect of a Russian invasion has been so often ridiculed as a bugbear, that few now allude to it. We boast of the strength and efficiency of our army, and triumphantly ask, What can Russia hope to be able to bring into the field to cope with it at such a distance from her own territory and resources? Were this the only question, we might safely treat with contempt any effort of Russia. Were we safe from internal commotion, we might indeed bid defiance to any external enemy. But this is *not* the only question; many other points are to be considered. What portion of our numerically large army could be concentrated on our north-western frontier? How many of our districts could we venture to leave without troops? What cavalry could we bring forward to keep in check the thousands of Persian and Cabul horse, whom the hope of plunder would induce to accompany them, and who, with a disciplined army to serve as a nucleus, would scour the country in every direction, destroying what they could not carry off, cutting off stragglers and foraging-parties, and intercepting convoys of provisions? Lastly, what force would be required to keep down the disaffected in our own provinces, who would be hovering round every detachment, killing every man who strayed beyond his piquets? Thousands and thousands of our own subjects would be employed in this way, and I have heard many intelligent men assert that, were a body of thirty thousand disciplined Russians to reach the Sutledge, and avoid an immediate conflict, we should not call a foot of ground in Upper India our own, but that on which our army stood; and that our troops would starve in their camps, or be destroyed in detail in attempting to procure provisions, or be driven by necessity to desert our standards; and that in a very short time the British power would no longer be known in India. I think there is ample ground to justify this opinion. The disaffection to the English government I know to be at a most alarming height; and with

any prospect of success from external assistance, it would rise up with an overwhelming force."—*Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. i. pp. 166, 167.

The half-exploded system of the Turkish Pachas has been carried on to great extent in India.

"Here every district (out of the limits of the permanent settlement) has been like an apple in a cider-press, while the collector turns the screw; and, when he has squeezed it to the extent of his power, makes over the handle to another; and he to a third; and so on. A collector is in various ways made to feel that his reputation and prospects depend upon his realizing a large revenue; and that a recommendation for a reduction in the amount of the assessment is only considered in the light of a register of his own inefficiency."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 171.

The sagacity that introduced the use of Persian in the law-courts, and now would substitute English for it amongst the natives is satisfactorily disposed of.

"For, what is proposed? Actually to attempt to teach a hundred millions of illiterate people (the greater part of whom are so poor, that labouring, as they do, from morning till night, a bare subsistence is all they are able to procure,) to acquire a foreign language; instead of obliging a handful of foreigners, all of whom are more or less men of education, and who, at the commencement of their career, have considerable leisure at their disposal, to learn that of the country under their authority."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 211.

The similar wisdom that would fain invent a European character for Asiatic language is no less fairly put down.

"They quite forget to take into consideration the inconvenience to which so many millions of natives would be subject, in being obliged to learn a strange character."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 216.

"What would an Englishman do in France, Germany, Russia, or any other country in which he had engaged in mercantile affairs? He might as well complain of the hardship of being obliged to transact his business in the languages of those countries. It is the same in India. The number of English merchants and tradesmen (and there are no others) all over the country, out of Calcutta, amounts to a few hundreds. Who obliged them to come here? What brought them here?"—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 217.

The activity of justice under the old system is thus exemplified.

"From Almorah a case of murder was once referred to Government, for orders, and no answer was received for two years. The same occurred, under a similar reference, at Assam, in which the answer was not received for three years. In October, 1829, two cases of murder were tried by the commissioner of the Furruckabad division, and referred to the Sudder Nizamut, from which court, up to the end of 1832, no orders had been received. It is often that several months, or even a year, elapse before any orders are received in criminal trials referred to the Chief Court: indeed, it would appear, from their own proceedings,

that such delay is not uncommon. In 1816, a circular order was issued to the circuit judges, directing them, whenever six months had elapsed without any orders being received, upon trials referred, to report the circumstances, and refresh the memory of the superior court. The same order repeated in 1827. During all these delays, the *prisoners remain in gaol.* Since the establishment of the branch court, at Allahabad, however, a great improvement for the better has taken place on this head."—*Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. i. p. 256.

"In an official letter, already once quoted, Mr. E. Strachey, among other reasons for not writing a detailed report, mentions that he had 400 prisoners untried, and 1700 witnesses in attendance, whom he could not keep any longer from their homes."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 496.

Upon the constant and erroneous assumptions of ignorant persons we have the following, which may serve as a hint not to credit too lightly errors of higher importance than those as to usage.

"The constant misapprehensions and mistakes which are made by the English, from mere want of observation, are astonishing. For instance, the majority of the inhabitants of Bengal and Orissa do not eat meat. This has been ascribed to a religious precept against destroying animal life, and they have received abundance of praise from their admirers for their humanity. Yet almost all, of whatever caste, constantly eat fish. The probability is, that the custom of not eating meat had its origin in poverty, and has been confirmed by habit; which is by no means a far-fetched supposition. Many of their most rooted customs have no better foundation, or have arisen from accident. Many of the highest Rajpoots and Brahmins in northern and western India will eat goats, venison, and wild hog's flesh, while they abhor that of sheep, or domestic swine. Some will eat the jungle fowl, (which in appearance is little different from a game-cock, except in size,) who would think the touch of a domestic fowl pollution. Most castes will eat some particular kind of food, but refuse others; for which it is impossible to assign a rational cause. At Bickaneer, all Hindus profess a whimsical abhorrence of fish. In Kumaon, they will eat the short-tailed sheep of the hills, but will not touch one with a long tail. Many classes will eat bread baked by the people, who would lose caste if they were to touch boiled rice dressed by the same hands. Many tribes will allow a man to smoke through his hands from the bowl (chillum) which contains the tobacco, who would not allow the same person to touch that part of the hookah which contains the water. An earthern pot is polluted beyond redemption, by being touched by an inferior caste; a metal one suffers no such deterioration."—*Ibid.* pp. 532—533.

The remarks on the subject of our interference with the native governments are however more germane to our immediate purpose.

"In India we claim to be the paramount power, and to exercise the authority which is usually conceived to be attached to it. The maxim

alluded to is the only possible plea on which we can found such a claim; for no one who has the least acquaintance with the feelings of the people, either of our own territories, or of the neighbouring states, can for a moment suppose that they would willingly submit to our assumption of such authority. Whatever may have been the notions formerly prevalent, late discussions have tended to bring to light the truth; and however unpalatable to our self-love such a conclusion may be, we have been compelled to own that we hold our own possessions not by the good-will or affections of the people, but by an overwhelming military force, which renders resistance hopeless."—*Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. ii. p. 71.

"I cannot help here alluding to the feelings which seem to prevail in our view of the conduct of Russia towards Turkey and Persia. The ambitious projects and insidious proceedings of the former power form a theme for eloquent declamation among the English. It is strange that we should be so very sensible to the faults of others, and so blind to our own. The game which Russia has, for a series of years, been playing towards Turkey, is a precise counterpart of that which we have so long pursued in India."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 72.

"The following summary is quoted from an official memoir drawn up by Major Sutherland, and printed, but not published, by Government, in 1833:—'There is no state in India with whose government we have interfered so systematically, and so uselessly, as with that of Oude. But this interference has been more in favour of men than of measures; and has apparently been utterly useless for the purpose of securing to the people of Oude any improvement in their institutions, or in the form of administering them. We at one time sent our officers and troops to enforce the payment of the revenue claimed by the Oude government from its subjects, without having the means of judging whether that claim were just or unjust; and we have lent our troops almost for the performance of the ordinary duties of police. We at another time supported a minister in his office, and, during our support of him, borrowed money from the treasury of the state, the interest of which we guaranteed in perpetuity to him and his family, though in lending it he was guilty of betraying the interests of his sovereign. We have at another time withdrawn our troops from the support of the minister, and left him to his own resources. We have on several occasions placed ourselves in the humiliating condition of debtors to the Oude government; we have shut our eyes to the extortions and oppressions which have driven its subjects into rebellion, and then we have lent our army to punish, and reduce them to obedience. But in the whole history of our interference, there does not seem to be one measure calculated to produce any lasting benefit to the people of Oude.'"—*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 79, 80.

A note on this point further informs us, that

"The right to interfere in the appointment of minister is openly assumed in a letter from the chief secretary to the resident at Hydrabad, dated 31st December 1809."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 81.

"It has since appeared, by the publication of the minutes in council,

that Sir Charles Metcalfe was the advocate of a free press, which he established as soon as he came into power; and that Lord William Bentinck was secretly proposing to keep it under the control of Government, while he was making speeches, and writing letters, professing to be a friend of freedom of discussion."—*Notes*, vol. ii. p. 83.

We find a strong corroboration of an assertion made in the course of this article by ourselves.

"In minor points, who does not recollect the member of our civil service, who, after having been dismissed for malpractices, with a positive order from the Court of Directors against his future employment, was sent up to Lucknow with a recommendation from the Governor-General to the king, which the latter considered in the light of a command, to give him an official post? Who does not remember the same influence exerted to procure employment, or, in plain English, a pension, for an English singer and his wife, from the unfortunate king of Lucknow? I have myself seen the influence of the resident at Lucknow exerted to induce the king to buy a French toy at a most exorbitant price. The resident himself exhibited the toy, and recommended the purchase; and when we consider the complete thraldom in which the Government of Oude was then held by the resident, if this be not direct influence, I know not what is. The same authority has been exerted to induce the king to entertain English coachmen, gardeners, musicians, and all sorts of people whom he had no wish to employ. It is probable, that the convenience which has in this way resulted to men in authority —not even excluding the head of the Government—has been one cause that Oude has so long been suffered to remain an independent kingdom. Had it been annexed to the Company's dominions, all these sort of proceedings would have been annihilated; and whatever surplus existed, after paying the expenses of its management, must have been carried to the Government treasury."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 83, 84.

Is not this honourable to our forbearance? But the "auri sacra fames" is universal, from the Government to the revenue collector.

"When a defaulter has a daughter, a person of much lower caste than her family is selected as her husband, provided he be willing to pay a large price. The defaulter is forced to give his daughter's hand to this person, and the money realized from him is immediately seized on account of Government! Any overplus that may remain, after liquidating the demand, becomes generally the perquisite of the revenue officer (tuhseeldar) for his good offices. Such have been the modes in which the Government taxes have been collected in the upper provinces for the last two years."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 85, 86.

Speaking of the profligate folly of the late king of Oude, Mr. Shore well observes:

"The English government are mainly to blame for this state of things. How is it possible that native princes, who are kept in a state of pupilage, and almost treated like school-boys, should have any self-

respect or proper independence of feeling? This has been the case with Oude, for the last forty years. Had the British Government turned their supremacy to good account, by insisting on the education of the native chiefs, so as to qualify them for the art of Government, this would have been a measure entitled to the highest praise; but so far from it, the interference of the residents has been almost always exerted for evil; indeed, so extremely difficult is it to discover the slightest benefit arising to any class of people from the establishment of residents at the native courts, that there is even ground for the supposition that the measure has been adopted and maintained for the express purpose of promoting misgovernment and confusion in the different principalities, so as to afford plausible excuses and opportunity for our taking possession of them. A species of interference such as that suggested in No. XXXIX, would be a real benefit. Lucknow has not, at most, above three or four years longer to remain as an independent kingdom. By that time, the king, if he live so long, will have spent the remnant of his treasure; and as he will not have the sense to reform his conduct, borrowing and exactions will become the order of the day: disturbances will ensue; and the British will settle the matter by taking possession of the country."—*Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. ii. p. 276.

It is time for the parliament of Great Britain to look to this disgraceful proceeding, and probe it to the bottom if they mean to guard the national fame committed to them. What can other countries think of us, so loud in condemning, if we profit by this act.

> "Heaven cannot abide it,
> Earth will not hide it."

It would seem by these concluding remarks, that this fearless writer and independent functionary, had the sagacity to perceive from afar the coming fortunes of Oude, which took Lord Auckland, or his superiors at home, so strangely by surprise. Mr. Shore indeed devotes a portion of his work to discuss the means of benefiting that country, when in British possession. He seems to have appreciated, no less correctly than Colonel Low himself, the exact degree of confidence due to "the defined and moderate views of the government." That two men so different as the Honourable Civilian and the *unwarranted* Colonel should both have so interpreted these views, and interpreted them wrongly, is a coincidence extremely singular, and unfortunate for the character of Britain: and the more so as it shows that the two extremes of opinion, the perpetrator as well as the reprobator of wrong, did, in common as we happen to know with all India, conceive the moderate views of the British Government, when defined at last, to signify simply, TREACHERY and USURPATION.

ART. VI.—*Histoire de la Litterature Allemande, d'apres la cinquième edition de Heinsius.* Par M. M. Henry et Apffel, *avec une Préface de* M. Matter. 8vo. Paris, 1839.

IT is not very long since, in our 39th Number, we noticed with approbation a work similar to the present in its subject and treatment; but the topic is so generally interesting, and the taste for German literature, as it exists at this day, is so widely spread and spreading, throughout our own land and through all Europe, that every notice of its progress in other countries becomes more and more acceptable to the readers of our journal.

It can scarcely be surprising that the peculiar system of thought and study pursued in Germany should make but a gradual progress amongst the French, their very antipodes in almost every thing, but position. Yet it was the eager curiosity of our more lively neighbours for all that bears the stamp or even semblance of novelty, that at length produced the first overt act of acquaintance with German literature, and its first general introduction, through Madame de Stael, to the notice of Europe. The beams of the rising sun had however penetrated long before through the misty atmosphere that envelopes our own insulated comprehensions, when the Sorrows of Werter, the Robbers, and the criticisms of Heyne, excited so strong a sensation, and so much stronger a doubt as to the quantity and quality of reason as developed in the German mind. The rays that reached us were, to return to metaphor, deemed promising in themselves and indicative of considerable power in the planet that scattered them so far; but some doubts were entertained, and not altogether unreasonably, that the mists through which they struggled were not entirely those of English mental obscurity; and that a haze of no ordinary intensity dimmed and concealed the far greater portion of the rising orb of glory in its native land.

We are far from considering this suspicion erroneous; and however long and successfully we ourselves have toiled, with an almost German devotion, for the object of rendering German literature popular here, and transplanting to the best of our means the strongest shoots and fairest flowers of that soil, and importing the lavish wealth of its opened mines of learning to adorn and improve our national mind, we yet are tempted at times to think that the general feeling, and certainly on some points, has run of late too violently into this very extreme; that led and seduced by the labours and talents of some of our own most eminent writers and poets, we have given without due reflection into a species of Germano-mania, and transferred the

praise due undoubtedly to their erudition and scholarship, into an undiscriminating admiration for every thing that bears the impress of Teutonic peculiarity of any kind.

That such a state of feeling is a serious error, we do not hesitate distinctly to pronounce. However profound or important a course of abstract thought or inquiry may be in itself, it cannot from its very nature be adapted to the general mass of mankind. It is no answer to say that this mass are not the parties for whose immediate benefit it is intended; and that the stream must first flow through the usual narrow channels of more cultivated intellects, before it can be made available for the world at large. A mental system which requires a long, so to say, chemical process of precipitation, sublimation, and combination with foreign properties before it can be turned to general account, must of necessity be generated by certain peculiarities of home growth: as shadowy, subtile, and meditative, it answers admirably for inhaling in the calm repose and contemplative philosophy of German universities and abstract speculations; but brought into contact with the coarser and bolder practicality of every-day life and action in England and the rest of the world, its very subtility marks a degree of rarefaction unfit for common purposes.

The care that analyzes mental properties into hypothetical classifications and contrasts purely speculative and metaphysical, as if spirit were capable of being fully comprehended by human nature; and indeed as if mind were utterly independent of matter, and did not exist except by combination with it; is clearly a labour of excess: the linguist, the man of science who dives into the secrets of nature and the arcana of the past, and is satisfied to live for these alone, must also be satisfied to remain as the miner, the mere pioneer of a more popular and superficial research: and the poet and the popular writer who constantly chronicles every act and idea that visits him in the retirement of his study and the unvarying routine of domestic life and intercourse, is apt, and with justice, to be regarded by the public at large as tedious or trifling and overlaid with puerilities. It is these qualities in excess that deteriorate the literature of Germany. Her writers are not satisfied unless their readers know all they have done and dreamed in the progress of their labours towards any one point: every portion of their course is held to be of equal importance; every turn and gesture of the inner and the outward man equally deserving the reader's most anxious admiration: and thus the secluded sage, the man of the closet, comes forth before the world, and begs in the unsuspecting innocence of his literary vanity, that all shall respect his shuffling gait and his night cap, the slippers and morning-gown he wears in public,

because in his study they have been associated with the pen that has wrought so many marvels of intellect.

With these amusing peculiarities and positive drawbacks upon the real value of their elaborate researches, it will scarcely be expected by any but the most enthusiastic admirers of German authorship, that such can escape that strong turn for the ludicrous inherent in the mind of our Gallic neighbours, and not to a certain extent act as a preventive upon the continuous adoption and imitation of German habits of thinking and writing among them. With our own less mercurial and more kindred temperament these habits have largely affected a considerable portion of our writers; and the very faults and excrescences of German taste have been urged as beauties, and expatiated and insisted upon to the utmost limit of our own reason and forbearance.

In thus unequivocally expressing our opinion as to the absolute defects of the German writers, we must distinctly repudiate any the slightest intention of depreciating the real value of a literature that has made such rapid progress in so short a period, and is daily becoming more important to Europe, having already possessed itself in undisputed sovereignty of the highest classic ground. The very faults indeed of German authorship spring, like all others, from the same source as their excellences; namely, the peculiarities of their position, political and individual. The abstraction from practical life that renders them ignorant of how much that each man considers to be his own immediate discovery is, and has long been, thoroughly known to the world; so much so indeed as to be always taken for granted and to require no announcement; and the utter unconsciousness of the ridicule that, in more active states of society, follows the minute chronicler of intermediate shades of thought and infinitesimal puerilities of action or emotion; these practical defects also and at the same time engender, and are fed by, that insatiable hunger for knowledge, that unwearied labour of examining and exhausting every store of information, which amasses every heap of learning into one huge memorial, as mighty perhaps and scientific as a pyramid, but almost equally hopeless, isolate, and obscure. Digestion sinks in the universality of appetite.

This, the great error of German learning, is nourished by the more natural error of foreign ignorance. We wish to cast no slur upon the former, and little upon the latter; and therefore, conversing the sarcasm, would say

> Un savant trouve toujours un moins savant qui l'admire,

and to this subject must address a few words.

The German language is in itself difficult, far more so than the French or Southern European tongues; and its terminology

is so various, so compound, and consequently so full of epithets conjoined, that it acts upon the mind through the ear somewhat as the Chinese does through the eye, forming at once in each combination a picture to the sense. But between these two modes a great difference exists: that which is actually pictured in lines acts directly, that which is expressed in words indirectly and through the understanding, upon the senses. The second, then is a less simple process than the former. A language which admits these combinations of terms, admits also their production to excess; and in all these the process of the thought that frames them is more strongly displayed to the reader than the result of that process; as in English. The German gives all the parts, the English the undivided whole. And we cannot wonder at the partiality of learners and students for the former course in preference to the latter, for it brings the reader into the workshop of the writer's mind, not merely into his show-rooms, and has precisely the same effect that he who enjoys the landscape along the road feels, and advantageously, over him who merely travels it. But which more directly reaches the end? He whose mind is however slightly, yet incessantly and eternally diverted from the right line, or he who proceeds in this simple sense?

It continually happens too that this very facility of hinting rather than speaking out, of intimating imperfectly rather than being bound to definition, prevents the writer from closely attending to the accuracy of the thought, since he can dispense with the precision of the term. The former, in truth, he has only shadowed out, not determined; and hence, as in the Shemitic writing, there is always, doubtless, a meaning, but there is always also a doubt; and when a first-rate metaphysician or poet has written a word, each of his admirers writes a book to inquire what it means. Owing to the different formation of men's minds every angle from which it is viewed affords a somewhat different combination; it is gold or silver for the tilting knights, and must be settled by the point of the lance; and Goethe himself was puzzled when his commentators proved to him how much he had intended which he never imagined.

This peculiarity of thought and words acts of necessity upon mind and language. The end is lost in the means in both cases: instead of a common tongue each writer has his own secret alphabet; instead of seizing a thought and stamping it into a perfect idea, a solid form of judgment obtained from casting down the previous fusion of fancy, we are presented but with the components: it is the analysis given for the result; the anatomy of the body, not the body itself, produced. And in proportion as the plastic power is imperfectly used the results are likewise im-

perfect. Like the intellect too the language gains nothing definite; no new word, but fresh combinations only of the old: but this is less an advantage than a defect: it may remain essentially German, it never can become universal. It may be less profound than it seems, and it certainly becomes more difficult.

Yet it is this very difficulty that has, in our opinion, obtained for the tongue itself and the writers in it so ample a share of admiration. Men do not like to throw away their labour; they do not even like it to appear thrown away; and when the scholar of German, as of Sanscrit, feels that he has mastered the tremendous difficulties of its highest range, he is not only capable of an enjoyment denied to the many, but he is apt to overate the new world into which he has entered, and which is the more enticing as it is more subtile and imaginative; ideality rather than substance. The basis of reason upon which life reposes, the practicality, that tests all things in the material world, are left behind him as he enters this dreamy sphere; and he takes the Mephistopheles of subtlety at his elbow for a judge, and the Will-o'-the-Wisp for his guide, and dances through the May-day night of the mountains with the rocky Hartz for his green-sward, and every mocking phantasy for his partner in the maze.

Now there is no occasion for all this: it may be very well for a pastime of the sage; and if our English literary Fausts are determined to do it seriously, let them remember where their prototype finally went, as Marlow and Goethe inform us. There, they may rely upon it, they themselves will follow, so far as this country at least is concerned. England is too practical in all her habits, too constantly kept by her insular position and political system in strait-forward vigilance and bold existence to allow time to any extent for metaphysical niceties. In her constant collision, forcible or friendly with the whole world, all the currents of thought, all the fancies, cravings, desires, all the elements of material life and action are so unceasingly whirled together, combining and conflicting in the crucible of a positive chemistry, that the lighter vapours, the sublimations and sublimities of alchemical expectations float away into air, the caput mortuum is left at the bottom, and the general extract alone retained for practical purposes.

Nearly the same effect, though from widely different causes, obtains in France; and has prevented, and will probably prevent anything more than a passing mania for German and exotic mystification. It is to this and this alone we refer in our remarks, for it is simply the prevailing tendency to this in German feeling that robs its literature of the due consideration it deserves on many points. The genius of Germany is too vast to be exhibited

by the microscope of one portion of its admirers, or puffed by the bellows of another into ballooning it through the clouds: it wants no mists and haze to exaggerate its real dimensions; and if it means to meet the sympathies of man, it must be, not ideal but positive; not confined to its own country by narrow peculiarities, but universal as the globe over which it would range.

The truth of our remarks is borne out in great degree, not only by the fate of those eager enthusiasts of German literature in England, whose praises are heard and suffered to sink in the mysticism that envelopes them; but also among the Germans themselves. Their warm aspirations for political institutions after the fashion of England or France was the first symptom of the taste for the practical; and when the leaven is once introduced, even if ill-judgingly at first, it gradually corrects and leavens the whole. An adoption of foreign terms, however few, and a disposition to act upon reasonings instead of abstracting them, is rapidly producing a change in the spirit of the Germans; whose authorship we trust will soon, as its progress seems to announce, hold another empire than the air, and take its place in the field with England and France for all active purposes, as it has long done in speculation.

With this distinct avowal of our opinions, and which if at all novel in print are more especially so in this journal, and yet, so far as we can see, they are fully borne out by, with some few exceptions, the general sense in England; with this avowal, we repeat, we must couple a reservation in favour of some of the highest names in Germany. The question of classical or scientific literature, we do not touch upon in this paper. Our remarks in truth refer less at the moment to the range of intellect than to the medium of communication; bearing in mind however the connection between the two, and which is so close that the one materially affects the other. Clearness and simplicity of thought will always induce with the least practice a corresponding clearness and simplicity of diction; and according to the imperfections of the latter we can determine with sufficient accuracy whether the mind that puts it forth is turgid or verbose, confused, multifarious, and indefinite; inert from indigestion of over-crowded reading, or thinking, or smoking; elaborately heavy or elaborately light, pompous, dictatory, or finical: the merely superficial seems unknown in Germany; but this we ourselves can amply supply. The froth and scum of English literature is easily thrown aside, but we cannot so willingly, or so lightly, dispense with the mass of information buried in German scholarship. But the last should bear in mind that all complication is counteractive, and all simplicity energetic in its kind: the five hundred mirrors of the

French mechanical experiment could not set fire to a boat at one tenth the distance effected by the single machine of Archimedes.

M. Matter remarks the fact that the southern languages of Europe came into notice long before those of the north. This circumstance was fortunate and was also necessary, as the result, if so alone, of geographical position. Wherever they spread, the northern nations were in earlier ages the predominating race; and thus they preserved in so great a degree not only their original customs and feelings, but were also enabled to engraft, upon otherwise unvitiated modes of thought, in themselves simple, original, and forcible, the dark, wild, and gloomy grandeur of fearful superstitions, rugged manners, and solitary and undivided thought; a fount of masculine and perennial freshness that at a late period invigorated and supplied with novel energies the exhausted and stagnating currents of literatures more feeble but more refined.

In France this error of weakness has been long apparent, and universally felt of late years, if not confessed, by the nation itself. To England, that had so often borrowed from her, France applied in her turn, and admitted with secret pleasure and obvious reluctance the gleam of "barbarian genius" that in Shakspere and his descendants was enlightening the wakening intellect of the nation. That the first dislike was converted at length into an absolute mania, was no more than could be expected in the nature of things, and the nature more especially of French constitutions. But every passion exhausts itself; every novelty tires at length; and now the current has set in the direction of Germany; though not yet with the impetus characteristic of Gallic emotions. It is however a movement not of whim but necessity; an absolute want of oxygen in the exhaustion of the literary atmosphere of both countries; M. Matter well observes

"Yet the progress we ourselves have made has probably approximated us to the north as much as this has approximated towards us. In truth if our literary desires turn now to England and Germany, it is not a mere caprice of taste but a movement of intelligence. In these two countries moral and political studies have assumed so glorious a course, and we ourselves are in a social condition so analogous to that of our neighbours, and so different from the past, that our literary sympathies are established by the force of circumstances, the community of wishes, the fraternity of all thought.

"With England we have been for more than a century united by the noblest labours of the human mind, those of legislation, philosophy, and general politics."

After remarking that for a long time these subjects were merely matters of speculation in France and are now become practical, and that her institutions and views of the social future are abso-

lutely at present those of England, M. Matter observes that the difference now consists in forms and manners, and that these will be permanent, though the principles are the same.

With regard to the German, he notices and with justice that it does not possess for his countrymen the same claims to attention, and is not for them in the same degree an object of study, though it offers for many classes of society a powerful interest. It presents to all advantages and inducements which the English has lost by having become familiar in France.

"The German is not only the language of erudition and metaphysics, it is particularly the language of the moral sciences, the study of which is so important for us in the social state wherein we are placed by so many revolutions of manners and ideas. It is in fine the language of a million of Frenchmen.

"The German has also points connected with higher considerations. It is a language of astonishing variety. The English is bounded; the French can in future but exhaust itself. The German since it has become classical, is in its third phase, and seems susceptible of still farther transformations.

"Thus does the German daily gain ground amongst us."

And the writer conceives that it is destined to play a great part in the new epoch into which the French tongue is about to enter; that is, its struggle with the northern idioms, after having so gloriously sustained a contest with the languages of the south, and after profiting so well by the education bestowed on it by the ancient tongues.

From the language to its literature the transition is easy; and in regard to the German, a phrase of very common acceptation, namely, that its literature is but very modern, and of to-day, seems to require some explanation. It is not in truth very clear what is the received sense of this saying, at least if we are to view it in a different light from that of the literature of any other nation of Europe. All differ essentially in their modern from their ancient phases; and yet Herder, if we remember rightly, seems to countenance the general opinion just alluded to, though only in part, when he speaks of the youth of the German muse in her race with that of Britain.

The writers of the volume before us do not appear to uphold the opinion in question in their general estimate; for they affirm of the German,

"This literature is, without question, one of those deserving the most to be studied. It is ancient, it is original, it is rich, and little known out of Germany. Its especial distinction is great vigour of conception, a high degree of ideality, a sort of worship of nature imposed by profound sentiments of religion. Like the country which produces it, it forms a real transition between the literature of the east, of which it possesses

all the gravity and mysticism, and the literature of Scandinavia, more pompous, more dry, and more severe."

According to the same authorities, its poetry, like its prose, has fused several kinds into one to form a novel style, commonly termed the romantic. This we are strongly tempted to question though it is the general opinion; for did the romantic originate in Germany? Are not the ballads of the South a sufficient answer, and were not they the progeny of the proper East, and marked more distinctly with their present characteristics than imbued with the tints of the North? Germany has a rightful claim undoubtedly to her own peculiar romance, and this we would especially reserve: but for the epithet itself it is perhaps too general and undiscriminating to be referred so freely as by our authors to that one sole source. "It is thus," they tell us, "that in appreciating this literature we see combined at one time and confounded in mutual embarrassment, the devout and gallant spirit of the Provençal troubadours, the dreamy and mystical imagination of the Oriental poets with its pomp and dazzling splendour, and the sombre genius of the North, that lives in tempests and presides at those gigantic battles where the bravest of warriors fight hand to hand with the gods themselves." Our readers are however aware that this form of romance is to be found, though in more polished shape, in the ancient pages of Hesiod and Homer, and the more modern tales of Ariosto. Whence then came all these? From the earliest East undoubtedly; and they are only modified, not created, by Scandinavian or Teutonic genius; more severe, more stern, more simple, and more shadowy in the latter; a different species, though the genus is the same: the drapery of classic grace or Oriental effeminacy was unknown or despised, and the genius of the north robed his form but in the clouds of his own domain, or presented it, ample and bare, in the sole might of its colossal dimensions.

The History of German literature is divided by our Author into seven periods.

1st. The Gothic, from the earliest times when barbarism dispersed the remains of Roman civilization, down to the reign of Charlemagne (768).

2d. The Frank, or period before the Hohenstaufen, 768—1137, when the light thrown by Charlemagne sank in the obscurity of his successors.

3d. The Suabian; from the rise of the Hohenstaufen race to the origin of the German Universities, 1137—1148; the time of the Crusades, Troubadours, and Minnesangers.

4th. The Rhenane, lasting till the Reformation, 1348—1534; when science raised her head above literature; when the

tourney and chivalrous combats disappeared, and Cologne, Erfurt, Leipsic, Rostock, Basle, Treves, Mayence, Wittenberg, &c. successively rose in imitation of Italian institutions; when Guttenberg invented printing at Strasburg; when knowledge became popular; and when, finally, Luther appeared on the scene.

The 5th, or Saxon period, embraces the school of Luther to that of Spitz, 1534—1625; the most important portion of the 16th century—the epoch of regeneration, of religious wars, of conquests in America and Asia. Literature flourished by the religious controversies: poets and men of genius cultivated science and the belles lettres, or refined the Minnesanger lays into the strains of the Master Singers, amongst whom was the celebrated Hans Sachs. Luther, reforming religion reformed also the language; by fusing, we should say, like Homer under a somewhat similar change, the two principal dialects in use into the type of the modern German language.

The 6th period, Silesian and Swiss, comes down to Klopstock, including the interval from 1625 to 1750. Spitz, the founder of the Silesian school of classicists, then opened the way for foreign literature. France inundated the soil with new ideas and fashions of thinking and writing, literary societies were formed every where to assist or oppose the innovations, and from this conflict of principles sprung the new work of German classical literature.

The 7th period reaches from Klopstock down to our own days; *i. e.* 1750—1838; when, as our author somewhat fancifully remarks, "the most illustrious pleiad that ever shone on ancient Germany appeared in Klopstock, Schiller, Göethe, Engel, Burger, Wieland, and so many others." These last, unnamed, being too many for the constellation in question, form, we presume, the Milky-way; and it must be owned that some of them have supplied the world with that nutritive diet in rather larger quantities than accords with the matured state of European developement; and, we speak it reverently, aided by one at least of the labours of Göethe himself, have raised a sort of bread and butter school, greatly relished in our infancy throughout the nurseries of Europe.

We turn from the Volume before us to notice with our warmest commendations, a work on the actual state of Germany by an English Scholar of deserved reputation. To those who seek to know more of that remarkable, and rising, but half undeveloped land than can be learned in a hurried tour, or inferred from the passing notices of newspapers, we would earnestly recommend

this book,* where may be found the real position of Germany, its resources, political and industrial relations, its progress in the sciences and arts, and in literature, with all the details that are necessary for a thorough comprehension of the subject, and of the great political and moral question that is to be solved perhaps in our own days, by the prodigious advances of the German every way. To the work itself generally we can confidently refer our readers, but our more immediate business is with the literary portion of it; and the opinions in this department are so fair and so candid, that they give, better than any thing we have seen, an idea of German literature as it really is.

We select amply from this part of the work.

"The early literature of Germany did not represent the national mind, nor did it tend much to enlighten nor to move it. It principally consists in treatises, more or less elaborate, on matters of theology, jurisprudence, natural history, physics, and medicine, with no small sprinkling of alchemy, astrology, and metaphysics. These were almost all written in Latin, which appears to have been almost a second tongue, used familiarly in conversation, and still more familiarly in composition.

"The modern literature of Germany may be said to commence with Gottsched, who was born in the year 1700, and who died in 1766. He was educated at Königsberg, where he took the degree of Master of Philosophy in 1723. He was shortly afterwards obliged to quit Prussia, where his stature exposed him to the risk of being forced to enter the ranks of the king of Prussia's giant-grenadiers. He took refuge at Leipsic, and was elected professor at the university there, in the year 1730. Gottsched claimed the character of an universal genius, which he was far from being able to support. He attempted to play at once the philosopher, the grammarian, the critic, and the poet. But he survived his own fame, and is now consigned to a degree of oblivion which he certainly does not deserve.

"He did not occupy himself with style and form exclusively; he may be said to have founded the periodical literature; he encouraged numerous young authors, and placed the learned world on a better footing with the booksellers. With the assistance of a number of scholars, whom he had gradually gathered round him, he published a translation of Bayle, whose work, from its free and novel cast, produced a great sensation in Germany. Though a grave professor, he did not disdain to interfere with the theatre, and his criticism succeeded in driving away the Merry-Andrew (Hanswurst) from the stage. A Leipsic lady assisted his reforming career by the introduction of feeble translations from the French. The influence of the pseudo-classic rules of France on the German drama lasted till the criticism of Lessing demolished it at a blow, and rushed

* Germany; the Spirit of her History, Literature, Social Condition, and National Economy; illustrated by reference to her Physical, Moral, and Political Statistics, and by comparison with other Countries. By Bissett Hawkins, M.D. Oxon, F.R.S., London, 1838.

unfortunately to an opposite extreme. The period of Gottsched's glory was between the twentieth and fortieth years of the last century. He legislated for the literary world with a dictatorial air; but into the nature of man, where alone the laws of criticism are seated, he never deigned to cast a glance. Aristotle he misunderstood, and his imitation of the French was clumsy and imperfect. Göethe has left us a highly amusing account of the first visit which he paid to Gottsched. By mistake he was ushered into the dressing-room of the Professor, who, as he entered, clapped on his wig with great dispatch, then boxed his blundering valet's ear with one hand, and received his guest with the other. Gottsched's system of criticism is particularly open to the charge of superficiality and weakness.

"Hagedorn and Haller were eight years younger than Gottsched; they were both born in 1708. In classing, then, these poets together, we only refer to some similar points in the character and tendency of their works. They commenced an indirect opposition to Gottsched, and as they overthrew him, without expressly aiming at him, they rendered his overthrow the more complete. The criticism of the Leipsic Professor was entirely negative. He had prescribed only sobriety of expression, and such poetical enthusiasm as could help itself just as well with prose as verse. Haller introduced the freedom of English literature into Germany. He, at first, took Pope for his model; but if he excels him in depth and solidity, he is his inferior in point of style. Haller deserted poetry for physiology at thirty, and would fain apologize afterwards, for having devoted so much time to the Muses. It is a common prejudice, that a man cannot distinguish himself eminently in two departments. The philosophic reputation of Haller has injured his fame as a poet. To his scientific eminence, he owed his professorship at the university of Gottingen. Here he was an active contributor to *Der Gelehrte Anzeiger*, at that time the most famous periodical in Germany. In estimating the comparative worth of Haller's works, we must never forget that he was without German models. He had the classics certainly, but their sphere is too remote for the imitation of a genial poet, who feels the necessity of giving expression to life as he breathes and feels it. Haller wrote odes, but in imitation of the French—of Baptiste Rousseau, for instance. These compositions instead of being poetical, are a collection of rhetorical rhymes. The criticism of our poet-philosopher is not of much value; for to criticise a literature which is without models is to thrash empty straw.

"Notwithstanding the exertions of the Swiss school, Leipsic continued even after the expiration of Gottsched's popularity, to be the metropolis of literary Germany. In the middle of the last century, it was the residence of Gellert and Klopstock, of Kramer, Rabener, and several others, whom we shall not have space to dilate upon. But somewhat earlier than these, flourished J. E. Schlegel, who was born in 1718, and who died in Denmark, in 1749. He was the first who gave a character to the German theatre, and is, therefore, in his relation to German dramatic literature, especially worthy of notice. He commenced his career by translating some tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides into German

rhyme. Though he abandoned the French school of tragedy, he was not quite free from its influence. The favourite plays of the æra we are now considering, were of the kind technically called characteristic, in which a character made up of extremes, whose vices might be either moral or mental, was put to all sorts of trials, through five tedious acts. Schlegel brought on the Copenhagen stage, "The Dumb Beauty," a rhymed comedy in one act, which is admirable of its kind. From this author, the influence of French taste on the German drama dates its decline; all subsequent attempts to modify French plays for that stage have been decided failures. If these productions are of any worth, it lies in their consistency and unity, which are destroyed as soon as they are altered."—pp. 78—85.

The fame of Shakspere renders the following interesting.

"For some time after the period of which we are now treating, Shakspeare seems to have been unknown in Germany. Bodmer quotes him under the name of Sasper, and a bibliopolist of those days tells us that he had heard a great deal about him, but that he had been unable to obtain any of his works."—p. 86.

We need only select a few passages in passing for our readers.

"Gellert is one of those authors, who, by a prudent management of very little talent, earn considerable fame. The public has confounded the man with the poet; and his literary insignificance was forgotten by those who admired the goodness of his heart. Fame, however, seems now determined to vindicate its impartiality, and is consigning poor Gellert to undeserved neglect. His comedies are the weakest of his works; one finishes perusing them, really without knowing what all the five acts have been about. His tales and fables are much too similar; he seems to have confounded the species. The 'Letters' of Gellert were received with great applause, and have survived, in general estimation, many of his works. But it is impossible that a book, the interest of which is but local and temporary, should take its stand amongst the classics of a nation.

"Klopstock came to Leipsic in the year 1746, when he had already commenced his great poem, 'The Messiah,' and was full of plans for its completion. It would be useless to deny, that in some parts of it he has imitated Milton, but on the whole he pursued an original path.

"Klopstock had no ability in rhyming; his muse was neither docile nor pliant. On this score, he was at first considerably embarrassed, being far from decided as to what measure he should choose for his verse. He intended, at first, to write in rhymeless Alexandrines—the worst form he could possibly have chosen. Fortunately, he hit upon the hexameter, in which his success was signal and complete. The first cantos of the Messiah were published, 1748, in a periodical which issued from the Leipsic press. The effect which it produced upon the public cannot be measured, even by the greatest possible sensation which a work can now create.

"In speaking of the Wieland of this period, we must not confound him with the Wieland who dazzled Germany in the year 1763. They

are one person, it is true; but the one person underwent a complete metamorphosis. At this period, he espoused the cause of Plato against that of Epicurus, and wrote a poem to refute the "De rerum Natura," of Lucretius. Besides this, he composed Scriptural epics, in unwieldly verse; as, for instance, *Der geprufte Abraham.* Sulzer was the scholar of Bodmer in poetry, and of Leibnitz in philosophy. Or, rather, the creed which he professed, and which was very popular just at that period, was an amalgamation of all possible systems.

"Kleist's 'Spring,' is an imitation of the 'Seasons' of Thomson, which is composed of a series of pictures drawn with truth and feeling, but in no definite form, and with no general spirit pervading the whole. He has all the faults, and, it cannot be denied, all the beauties of his model; but poetry is not entirely a descriptive art. The works of Kleist were disfigured by the corrections of Ramler; and it is only lately that they have been published from the original manuscripts. Ramler has the credit of having tamed whatever was original and energetic in the poetry of his period down to his own standard of correct mediocrity. In his old age he versified the Idylls of Gesner, which had never possessed great merit, but which he deprived of all they had. Gesner, after having been educated in the principles of the Swiss school, came to Berlin about the year 1750, to learn the trade of a bookseller. Disgusted, however, with this occupation, he took to painting, for which nature seems to have intended him. He had received no instruction in the art, and he painted, at first, a number of landscapes with common oil, so that they would not dry. It was his distress on this account, which led him to seek and ask the advice of the Professor of Painting. The talent of Gesner was now soon recognised, and his landscapes have always been very justly praised. Unfortunately, we cannot say as much for his literary publications. His Idylls are landscapes, as far as he could make them such with pen, ink and paper. His characters are like those of Ossian,—speaking spirits and shadows, drawn on a coloured horizon, and sweeping along luxuriant ground."—pp. 86—90.

We cannot we confess discover the similarity or aptitude of the last illustration.

"Herder was a critic, and in the best sense of the word,—one who was fonder of dwelling upon beauties, than of searching out defects. He was of a pliable, plastic susceptible nature; at last, perhaps, he verged towards the undecided and indefinite; and even in his best years, we too often miss in him the strength and acuteness of a master-mind. He first gave to German literature that cosmopolitical tendency, which has increased since his time to such a degree, as to have become its peculiar boast. Herder was a poet, but not a philosopher;—rather a literary than a learned man. He had the faculty of happily divining where he could not see very clearly. Though acquainted with many languages, he had not a thorough knowledge of one. His researches on the subject of popular and legendary poetry seem to have led him to the conclusion, that the Muses can only be successfully cultivated by their rudest votaries. But this is a grand mistake; Art is natural to man, who cannot, even in his wildest state, be lost to a love of it; and why should poetry be deprived

of its aid? We do not disgrace the heavenly guest by clothing her in a costly dress; we rather heighten the variety of her beauties, and of our own enjoyment."—p. 103.

We take some portions of the remarks on Goethe.

"In his first works, Goethe was the advocate of that which he felt to be Nature, against that which he thought to be Art. His 'Götz von Berlichingen' was written in defiance of all the old dramatic laws; and in 'Werter' he would seem to to have aimed at the abolition of the conventional and artificial, and at the recognition of what was called the voice of nature in their stead.

"A year after Götz, appeared 'The Sorrows of Werter,' which produced an incalculable effect upon the public, by whom it was tumultuously received. This book is a singular mixture of truth and fiction; to a certain extent the author identified himself with his hero, and then superadded the misfortunes of a young man named Jerusalem, whose suicide, the consequence of an unfortunate passion, made at that time considerable sensation. As far as the sentiments and feelings of Werter are concerned, we may take the identification to be complete; though how far the author was conscious of it at the time of writing is uncertain.

"Of the attacks which this work met with at the hands of the critics, Goethe took no notice; but he subsequently added one to their number, in his 'Triumph of Sentimentality.' With this latter word, 'Werter' was the first to make us acquainted; great as is the part which it has played in our time, we may search for it in vain before the days of Göethe. The feeling, though now naturalised in Germany, is of foreign origin. The *Nouvelle Heloise* of Rousseau first perfectly incorporated it, and is composed of little else; it is more artificial, but less morally objectionable than 'Werter.' In England, Sterne had touched the same chord, but with a steadier hand and healthier result. The work, however, which mainly contributed to establish the fashionable feeling in Germany, was the 'Ossian' of Macpherson, in which the morbid refinement of the moderns is pictured to have existed at an age, and amongst a people, where no refinement whatever was known.

"'Stella' he entitled a tragedy for lovers, but a good tragedy cannot be usurped by any class; it addresses itself to mankind at large. The hero is a worthless character, who is subject to every feeling, and faithful to none. Discontented with ordinary felicity, he sets out in search of something more than happiness. After deserting his wife and daughter, and uniting himself to the innocent and lovely heroine, without any diminution of his passion for the latter, remorse seizes him on account of his treatment of the former, and he hits upon the convenient idea of arranging the matter so as to be able to live with both, in a way of his own, somewhat repugnant to conjugal institutions. In these plays, Goethe allows all emotions and feelings to have their course, without disturbing them by even the mention of morality; but such a system undermines all strength of mind, all dignity of character, and instead of having a right to our sympathy, it demands our contempt.

"Shortly after the publication of these dramas, a metamorphosis began to take place in the literary character of Goethe; he recognised his errors, and was one of the few men of his time who rescued himself from the influence of his works; he withdrew to study and self-examination, and all that was heard of him for some years, was an indefinite report of his being engaged in the composition of 'Faust.' In 1788, he published 'Egmont,' the most theatrical of his tragedies, in which he is no longer true to his theory of the natural, for the language, instead of being the prose of common life, rises often to the poetical.

"At this period Goethe made a deep study of the Greek tragedy, and recognised the poetical foundation on which Shakspeare's world is built; the result of this is to be traced in his 'Iphigenia in Tauris;' and 'Egmont' is a sufficient proof of the progress he had made in the comprehension of the English dramatist. The idea of making Tasso the hero of a play, occurred to Goethe during a journey through Italy. His drama of this name has a certain incidental interest, inasmuch as it doubtless, to a certain extent, describes his own situation. The love of a poet for a princess, and the embarrassing circumstances with which it is accompanied, were subjects with which he was not unacquainted. The elegance and correctness of diction in this poem, cannot be surpassed; but it had faults which no one had anticipated in Goethe: it was too cold, too artificial. He had not only undergone a change, but he had passed to the opposite of his former self.

"In 1794, Goethe published his 'Wilhelm Meister,' which was received by the public with indifference; the literary world, however, prepared its ultimate success by enthusiastic laudation. The style of this work is admirable; the clearness and depth of thought it displays, are alike remarkable, but it has the one great fault of its great author—it is an imperfect whole. It does not solve the problem which forms its foundation; it is but an introduction, a beginning without an end.

"During the early part of his career, Goethe had paid but little attention to versification, though some of his most durable fame rests on the versified productions of his youth—his ballads and songs, which for melody and depth of feeling, are truly singular. He now, to exercise himself in the composition of hexameters, composed an excellent version of Reynard the Fox, in that form, of which he shortly afterwards showed himself a master, in his 'Hermann and Dorothea.' This work regained for him, in a great measure, the favour of the public; its genuine warmth of feeling, and poetic truth, were universally applauded.

"The tragedy of 'Faust,' was one of Goethe's earliest and latest labours; the first part was published in 1790, and it was not finished till 1831. This is one of the most genial works of the greatest German poet, but it is not a philosophic whole. It displays dramatic talent, but its different scenes, the force and beauty of some of which are perhaps unequalled, were nevertheless not composed with any determinate view of their ultimate position. The idea of finding a philosophic system in this poem is ludicrous, and the volumes which have been published with that intention are only valuable as curiosities.

"Goethe did not shine in a critical capacity; he prescribed to all

artists a strict imitation of the ancients; but this is at once a narrow-minded and discouraging doctrine, for every age, unless it be worthless, must have a character of its own.

"Goethe has almost invariably been described in the language of unqualified panegyric, and his character as a man is little known to foreigners. Menzel, in his 'Deutsche Literatur,' has done some service in probing thoroughly the pretensions of Goethe; perhaps he has been somewhat rough in his manipulation. Genius is a gift of nature, but the use which we make of it is our own, and for this we may justly be brought to judgment. Goethe possessed more *influence* than any writer ever enjoyed; idolised by his countrymen, caressed in palaces, and sung in the cottage, he might have done something more than amuse. No one was ever improved by his works, none ever became less sensual, less worldly, less intriguing, less profane. Although he has touched every string of literature, nowhere does he rouse to patriotism, to religious reverence, to the domestic duties; one almost confounds the notion of right and wrong in reading his works, all seems blended and confused—amusement and the fine arts, theatres and critics, the passions and the cleverest modes of gratifying them, appear the great object of life. Let one short trait suffice: when Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph, Müller wrote a Discourse in French (De la Gloire de Frederic), in which he compared the Conqueror to the old Prussian hero; Goethe translated it into German; and at another time, wrote an Epithalamium for this evil genius of his country."—pp. 104—109.

Of Schiller we learn with much fairness,

"Nothing could possibly be more galling to a mind like his than the arbitrary regulations of the military institution at Stuttgard, in which he was educated. Here he wrote his Titanic poem, 'The Robbers,' which indicates sufficiently the wild force of his character, and the despotism of the circumstances which had almost driven him to madness. This work is worse than 'Werter,' because more unnatural: with loud pretensions to originality, it bears prominent marks of imitation.

"Francis Moor is a prosaic Richard III., exciting equal hatred, but demanding no admiration. The fame which this play obtained for him, freed Schiller from the shackles of his situation, and he now was appointed to a post in connexion with the theatre, at Manheim, where he published his 'Fiesco' and his 'Cabal and Love.' Perhaps the peculiar feature of the former is its political bearing; which forms its chief claim to originality. 'Cabal and Love' abounds in convulsive demonstrations of passion. To his first career of enthusiasm succeeded, with Schiller as well as with Goethe, a period of self-examination and study. His next production was 'Don Carlos,' of which the outline is good, the plot powerful, and the execution a manifest improvement on his former works. Its versification, however, is indifferent throughout: the style keeps a middle course between his former extravagance and the lofty rhetoric of the French; the political philosophy which pervades it, is as foreign to the century which it represents, as it would be to the most distant we can imagine. It professes to be an historical picture, but it is, in fact, a work of invention; and the rude features of the poet's

former muse, break everywhere through the more civilized mask he had now attempted to assume. A year after the appearance of 'Don Carlos,' Schiller published his fragment on the history of the insurrection in the Netherlands; a subject which he had not studied very profoundly, and which he did not know how properly to treat. The duty of the true historian is, if the expression may be used, to reflect events, and not to reflect upon them. Our author now essayed the 'History of the Thirty Years' War,' and showed that he had made considerable improvement as an historical writer; indeed, his whole life was a series of improvements.

"In 1798, appeared 'Wallenstein,' a play in three parts, of which the first is not connected with the others, of which the second has no end, and the third no beginning. About this time, Schiller avowed himself a disciple of Kant, whose terminology imposed on the public to such an extent, that it was thought he had found a key to all the difficulties in the arts and sciences. Our author's philosophical disquisitions were more than ordinarily successful, because he was, at any rate, either intelligible or elegantly obscure; but he was too abstract and refined to produce any more than a temporary impression. The negative axioms of Kant's philosophy were true, though the positive were shadowy and unsatisfactory; indeed, his whole system was sceptical, though his followers long persisted in boasting of its constructive powers.

"After the publication of 'Wallenstein,' which was enthusiastically received both by the reading and the theatrical public, Schiller devoted himself more exclusively to the drama; and he now struck into a path which was to be intermediate between the classic and the romantic, though, in fact, it was only situated between both without being allied to either. Of his subsequent plays, 'Mary Stuart' is one of the best; its representation is very effective, though partly at the expense of historical truth. In his 'Maid of Orleans,' considering the romantic view which he took of the character of his heroine, the colouring of the execution was too faint; for Schiller, though of a bold and uncompromising nature, was timid and misgiving as an artist.

"The 'Bride of Messina,' and its preface, may be looked upon as a confession which Schiller was at the trouble of making of his own imperfections; and from the latter, which betrays a complete confusion in his ideas respecting the theory of the drama, we may gather that he understood the classic principle which he sought to imitate, no better than the romantic which he wished to avoid. It is impossible to imagine a costume for this play. The chorus differs from that of the Greeks, in being divided into two interested parties, who do every thing but come to blows for their leaders. But the Greek chorus is essentially an impartial whole; and represents the ideal, contemplative spectator of the drama.

"Even the last and best play of Schiller, 'William Tell,' is not free from a trace of his love of tragic antithesis; the murder of the emperor Albert is something quite foreign to the liberation of Switzerland; and it is evident that the murderer is merely introduced for the purpose of being contrasted with Tell. The local truth of this drama is extraordinary, particularly when we recollect that Schiller had never been in

Switzerland: he was indebted for it, in a great measure, doubtless, to the admirable history of John von Müller.

"The lyrical poetry of Schiller has been eminently successful, both at home and abroad; and his ballads have been held up as perfect models. But in truth, this is his weakest side, and his ballads are among the worst which we possess. All his works are more or less imperfect, but these are glaringly faulty; for everywhere, even in the simple legends of old which they profess to revivify, we are troubled with his philosophic reflections and the discord of a modern nature. Had he lived longer, it is uncertain how far he might have been successful in correcting all his faults; some of them appear too deeply rooted to have been ever thoroughly eradicated. But let us conclude justly, by remembering to praise the candour which rendered him alive to his defects, and the genuine modesty which always restrained him from great pretensions."—pp. 111—114.

We cannot conclude our notice of this part of the subject, and of men so celebrated as the writers before us without entering our protest against the excessive exaggeration of praise that has followed the name of Goethe wherever it has been pronounced. If encomium from all quarters is a proof of excellence it must be a free and unbiassed encomium; but we deny that such has been the case in this instance. Of the plaudits of Germany there can be no question; and as a German writer we are happy to allow Goethe all the praise he can obtain at home. As a delineator of nature, manners, sentiments, opinions; as the first great reformer of the rugged style of the older poetry; as a man of vast acquirements in any or all departments of knowledge, even as a man of very high genius we concede him every possible admiration. But we must be distinctly understood to refer to these, and any other points on which he really merits our sympathies, with a positive reservation. He is national, not universal; exquisitely elaborate rather than overflowing, the trace of study appears in every step: a giant perhaps, but in national peculiarities; a genius certainly, but of artificial life; an artist of nature, not her worshipper, that must make and fashion her image before he could adore it.

We pass over the dull, unsympathizing obscenities that disgrace some of his works, written it would seem, for their especial display: we pass over, and with sorrow and shame, the utter inability, incapacity to comprehend one single trait of delicacy, decency, and morality, that is obvious to every eye but his own. In manners and morals every nation has in its writers occasionally violated the proprieties: but all these, all worth noticing at least, were conscious of the wrong: when they lead astray their reader it is by turning him out of his direct course, into some nook or corner, and raising the veil that covers for him and them the form of corruption: the light they throw is artificial, and

passes through a medium coloured by the passions, in order that he may not by the presence of purity be reminded of grossest impurity, by unsophisticated calmness of feelings of their most atrocious perversions: the pulse of shame is not extinct in their breasts, that they can rely upon the reader's callousness as confidently as on their own. We would ask, Is this so with Goethe? Is not the very basis of some of his works the very theme most avoided by other writers? Does he ever hesitate to picture depravity? Has he ever shown that in painting it he was aware that the picture could not be hung up in open day, nor exposed to the public eye? What maid, what wife, what woman of all the sex could be so lost to even conventional forms as to hear the outline even of these elaborated infamies? What man, deserving the name, does not feel his judgment insulted and his pride of honour debased by being asked to dwell upon these loathsome carcases of putrifying abomination, these nauseous public gloatings and laboured delineations of vice, so fondly dwelt upon by this spiritual dotard of sensuality.

We must avow with sincere satisfaction that the first blow has been struck at this system by a periodical of the highest rank in England. The notice there given of the "Elective Affinities" may be fairly extended, and we have the less occasion to pollute our pages with reference to them. But if we do not envy the intellectual construction of those who can wade through the degrading mixture of filth and sluggishness, insipidity and grossness that in such works debases the name of one born, we could have hoped, for better things; and if we are to excuse them, as alone we can, by libelling his whole nation in supposing they could possibly afford him prototypes for such displays, what are we to think of those who, in evil hour for their own name, have sought to pander to England and Europe by praising and translating those works?

And what is the atonement for these? In what does Goethe so far excel the world as to claim from them its worship for him who could "call evil good and good evil?" If the obliquity of his moral sense was such as to turn early puling into matured abomination; if seduction through the medium of the senses was his desire in youth, could the sentimental sage find a happier parallel in warping feelings into crime than by converting pathos into puerility? his love of another's wife shared with love of bread-and-butter, while the tragic muse weeps over an out-of-elbows' coat! glories shared with our own Liston in his personation of Werther.

But we are reminded of FAUST.

In what does the marvel of this consist? In what is Goethe's

claim borne out to the title of the German Shakspere? We utterly deny the epithet's correctness in the usual sense, unless the term German is to be understood as a modification. Shakspere ruled the heart and swayed the sympathies of mankind. His thoughts lay open the intellectual world of man; his aspirations ennoble the mind. The most that Goethe does is to surprise: where he talks of feeling, it is to drone or to sneer; his powers are fantastical, his imagination half cold. The scenes of nature, actual or imaginative, the pulse of the heart, the yearnings of emotion, all are merely elaborately beautiful; all are perverted from simplicity to artificial life.

We are far from denying a high degree of merit to this poem; but we contend it is not so pre-eminent as it has been made to appear by injudicious praise on the one hand and weak consenting credulity on the other. We are well aware of the praise of real judges as bestowed on this performance, and of none more than Mr. Hayward, a scholar, a critic, a man of unquestioned taste and genius. But though our Journal has been warm in commendation of the Faust, we must admit that there are material drawbacks; to the eulogiums we ourselves would bestow much has been added by others, and much too that requires serious modification. We have already stated that artificiality is Goethe's forte; and however repugnant we must feel to strip, even if able, one leaf of laurel from the Mighty Dead, and such in truth he is, our task, since we have undertaken it, must be done, so far as our space will allow in the present paper.

We shall take, too, our own version, since the close and spirited translation of Blackie is not before us, and that of Tracey is at times, though not often, an improvement, may we say it, on particular passages. As to Anster's, so constantly praised, it is one half at least the translator's own; an absolute paraphrase, and a very excellent one in general, but still a paraphrase of the original; some of its passages running to nearly, and sometimes more than to, double the length of the German. Thus substituting beauty for conciseness.

Nothing can well be more beautiful than the original dedication. The man of genius and the artist are both at the summit of their craft in this.

DEDICATION.

" Again ye swarm around me, shadowy train!
Once wont in youth this sorrowing gaze to meet;
And will ye now, for my behest, remain?
Still shall my heart's forgotten pulses beat?
Ye throng me round—well, rule me once again,
Since thus thro' mist and gloom my soul ye greet:
While drinks my breast again, with youthful bound,
The magic breath your presence breathes around.

"Ye bring with ye the forms of other days
Where many a cherished image glads my eyes:
And still, like faded, half-remember'd lays
Past memories of love and friendships rise.
Each pang renewed, each plaint recalled, betrays
What labyrinths wandering life supplies;
And mourns the loved of brighter hours, o'ercast
And shorn of bliss, who leave me, here, the last.

"They hear no more these closing notes of song,
The hearts for whom I waked its earlier lay;
For ever cold that sympathizing throng,
And ah! th' applauding echoes died away.
My sorrows mourn a stranger-crowd among,
Whose very praises sadden and o'erweigh;
And all to which my strains had gladness borne
If yet surviving, far asunder torn.

"And now my soul unwonted yearning owns
For that still calm, the spirit's phantom-reign:
And float and fall in undetermined tones
My feeble numbers, like th' Eolian strain.
A cloud comes o'er me; tear on tear bemoans,
And yielding manhood's pride of soul is vain.
All that is left me, distant seems to be,
And all I've lost,—my sole reality."

We take the next passage as an instance of the artificial: the Poet here speaking is not, we should say, a Poet in the best sense of the word. He speaks artistically, and beautifully doubtless, but he is the mere craftsman throughout the speech: a sense of nature pervades the whole; but the error, and this reigns in every line, is that, unlike the real poet, the true man of genius, he converses the order of things and perverts the real feeling; for he everywhere turns nature into the artificial, while true passion and genius turn the artificial itself into nature.

THE POET.

"Oh tell me not of that detested throng,
The scattered senses flee their very gaze:
But hide me from the crowd, that bear along
The soul reluctant in unending maze.
No, bear me where beneath unchanging Heaven
Untainted joys alone the Poet sate:
Where love and friendship to the heart have given
The Godhead's power—to summon and create.
Ah! all that gushes from the spirit's deeps;
All that the lip's low-murmured ordeal tries;
All it rejects perchance, and all it keeps,
Too oft in some unguarded moment dies.
Oft too for years th' unformed conception sleeps,
Then waked to full perfection meets the eyes.

The brilliant for the passing hour is made:
The pure remains, thro' ages undecayed."

This it may be answered, is in character; it is so, but this is our proposition; it is too much in character for the truth of genius: and it is the mere artist alone that looks on Nature only with an eye to art.

The next extract is liable to precisely the same objection. Again the glory of nature sinks down after the tenth line to the bathos of art; and though the skill of the writer elevates the subject to the close of the specimen it is only to the praise of THE ART.

Nor can it be efficiently objected to us, we conceive, that it represents art as triumphing over nature: because the former is ever compelled to work by means of the latter; its only power is to detect the powers of the last, and to bring at best one of its forces to direct another. As a whole, nature must be more grand than art, for it includes art. To pass from the first, then, to the second, is to lower the tone.

THE POET.

" Begone and seek thee out another slave—
What, shall the Bard his proudest duty wave!
The sacred right of man, by nature lent,
Resigning basely to thy will's control!
How rules he every subject soul?
How does he govern every element?
Is't not that harmonies, his breast o'erflowing,
Sweep the world back with them when homeward shewing?
When nature her eternal length of thread
Spins heedless on, to keep the spindle going;
When Being's inharmonious mass is spread
Confused, rude discords only throwing;
Who portions out the ever-flowing strain,
Infusing soul, with rhythmic art restored?
Who bids each bosom own the general reign
Of consecration, in one proud accord?
Who bids the storm with mortal passions rave,
The sun-set dyes in sacred feelings glow?
Or heaps the lovely flowers spring largely gave
But in the loved-one's path to throw?
Who from the green unmeaning leaves has given
A wreath that every merit well repays?
Who grasps Olympus? who unites with Heaven?
'Tis Man—whose might the Poet's soul displays."

Our next extract is far more strongly illustrative of the same tendency. The Poet does not feel as other men would: it is again not nature that swells in his bosom, but the sacrifice of this

to his craft. Every man but Göethe would have made the native feelings the first and leading object: with him it is the second. He is the mere artist and forgets the "celare artem," the concealment of his object. The man would have recalled the crowd of pulses, the artist only could have talked of them as a crowd of songs. The burst of youth would never have done this; still less the remembered enthusiasm of after-life, that would have felt how poor and cold and vain and artificial were even the most impassioned themes, in comparison of the overflowing gush of feelings that struggled, and how vainly do they struggle! for utterance even then. The close is far superior, and confessedly so, for it returns to the one mighty impulse.

THE POET.

"Oh! give me now once more the days,
Th' enlargening senses youth bestowed;
When from their fount th' o'ercrowding lays
In one unbroken freshness flowed.
When the world lay in mist concealed;
Each bud with marvel-promise sheening;
And I the thousand flow'rets gleaning
So richly decking every field.
Nought then was mine; I wanted nought;
Truth my sole wish, a dream in every thought!
Give all th' unbounded pulse to rove;
The ecstacy, o'erwrought to pain:
The strength of Hate—the might of Love—
Oh, give me now my youth again!"

Of the charm of these passages in the original, (any more than of our own feebleness in rendering them) we can entertain no doubt; they are beautiful, they are artistical, but to the breast of man they should have been UNIVERSAL.

The next passage is elaborately gorgeous: but if the wonders of Creation were the theme, why confine it to the mere terrestrial phenomena? The opening would indicate the necessity of more: but it opens so only to disappoint us. The planetary and other systems were known fully at the time this was written, yet they are not referred to.

RAPHAEL.

"The sun prolongs, with wonted force,
Thro' sister-spheres the choral song;
And, circling his appointed course,
He rolls in thunder-sweep along:
The angels hail th' inspiring sight,
Nor strive to scan unfathomed sway;
Thy mystic works proceed in might
Supreme, as in their earliest day.

GABRIEL.

" And swift, beyond conception's range,
Swift-circling whirls the glorious earth;
And paradisal splendours change
To night's deep glooms and phantom-birth.
The foaming ocean's boundless flow
Heaves the fixed rock and depths profound:
Yet rock and ocean onward go,
Borne on the sphere's eternal round.

MICHAEL.

" And rival storms, from earth to main
From main to earth contending hurled,
Weave, in confounding strife, a chain
Of giant ferment o'er the world—
And devastating lightnings glow
Before the thunder's fated way;
But, Lord! with Thee thy servants know
Alone the calm of changeless day!

ALL.

" The angels hail th' inspiring sight
Tho' none shall scan thy viewless sway;
And all thy works proceed in might
Supreme, as on their earliest day!"

There is nothing here like the grandeur of

" The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,"

even of Shakspere's age, and still less of his genius.

We have only room for Margaret's song, exquisite in its simplicity, elaborate, and perfect throughout. We will not ask, Is simplicity so simple as never to rise in the breast of enthusiastic devotion to anything beyond the idiomatic phrases, matchless as they are of the kind, which Goethe has selected?

MARGARET—*alone.*

" My peace is gone
My heart weighs o'er;
I regain it never,
Never more!

When he is not near
My grave seems here:
And Earth, and all
It offers, gall.

My wretched head
Is agony:
My drooping spirit
Sinks in me.

My peace is gone;
My heart weighs o'er;
I regain it never,
Never more!

From the casement sole
My glance would greet him:
And out I wander
But to meet him.

His stately tread;
His bearing high;
His mouth of smiles;
His might of eye;—

His voice, entoning
Music's bliss;
His hands' soft touch;
And oh! his kiss!

My peace is gone;
My heart weighs o'er;
I regain it never,
Never more.

For him my bosom
Will fondly glow:
Then could I clasp him,
Embracing him so:

Still kissing him
How fain would I,
Lost in his kisses
Die, oh die!"

We cannot go further now. But the distinction between Shakspere and Goethe is boundless. Great as he was in art, great in German niceties and peculiarities of feeling, Goethe was the great artist after all: his very May-day night contains nothing beyond this; it refers to life rather than to nature, and by preference. His simplicity, delicacy, and skill are wonderful, and his sweetness and mastery over his own language perhaps unsurpassable: but his various studies, niceties, and affectations of universal learning, and of universal wisdom dropping hourly from his mouth, overlaid the real powers of the German. He could not contain everything in one. Goethe was only the Shakspere of artificial life; and Germany we think will surpass him yet.

ART. VII. — 1. Schneller. *Geschichte der Oestreichischen Monarchie.* (History of the Austrian Monarchy.) Freiburg, 1831.

2. Kombst. *Authentische Actenstücke aus den Archiven des deutschen Bundes.* (Authentic Pieces from the Archives of the German Confederacy.) Leipzig, 1838.

3. Garnier. *Der Berliner Congress.* Lond. 1836.

THE recent treaty between England and Austria as concerns the commerce and navigation of both countries is one of the few recent political measures which bear in themselves the germ of happy consequences. It places the vessels of both countries on a perfectly reciprocal footing. All Austrian trade-ships coming from the ports of the Danube, are admitted into British ports on the same footing as British vessels, as regards their cargo; and, on the other hand all English vessels, arriving in Austrian ports are exactly on the same footing with Austrian ships, the same privileges from all foreign countries being accorded to them; so that our merchants are allowed to transport the produce of foreign countries and colonies direct from the native country of the produce to Austria. England has at all times derived the most important advantages from her commercial treaties; and we are glad to perceive in this case, as well as by the treaty recently concluded between England and Turkey, that the maxims by which we attained to our national greatness are not altogether neglected and forgotten. We would not withhold this frank approval of a measure effected by those whose political opinions are opposed to our own; nor are we by any means inclined to deny the prosperous consequences derivable from the Austrian treaty; though we cannot consider that treaty as a full compensation for the numerous failures and losses suffered both commercially and politically during the administration of our present ministers. We cannot, in truth, regard it as a sufficient compensation for the series of disgraces and disappointments brought upon us by the constant labours of French and other diplomacy, which has succeeded in continually duping the English cabinet for years, and rendering it a kind of political Georges Dandin, contributing to his own disgraces and applauding those who degrade him. Farther, we cannot see in the Austrian treaty a sufficient compensation for the important losses which have been inflicted on our eastern trade, especially since England has so much neglected her interests as to permit a misunderstanding with the Shah of Persia to grow up into complete defiance and prohibition of the produce of our

industry in the Persian dominions; for they are virtually prohibited, whatever may be asserted to the contrary.

The Austrian treaty is not more efficient, as we noticed before, to compensate for the losses we have experienced by the commercial league of Germany: and as the organs of the ministry have often boastfully inquired, "What will the vaunted commercial league do now?" we shall endeavour in the course of the present article to give a sufficient answer to the question. We need not abuse the patience of our readers with enumerating the voluminous register of mistakes and failures committed in the course of a few years, and for which the Austrian treaty is to prove a compensation; in avoiding this we but imitate the discreet silence of its noble author upon those questions, when, himself stooping to imitate the greatest orator of Rome upon his return from his Sicilian proconsulship, he praises his own merits with becoming eloquence through his own honoured organs of the ministerial press. We do not object to this; for, undoubtedly, the best applause a man can receive is from his own conscience, *i. e.* himself. Still greater praise is due to the noble secretary for doing good in secret by adopting, without acknowledgment, the regulations of his predecessors as the general ground of the treaty —a proof of political sagacity, too, fully borne out by the fact that the only material deviation from preceding conventions, the only thing new and original, is a clause that savours of impracticability at the moment. In truth the principle which prevails in this last treaty was established between England and Austria in that of December 21, 1829. There are however in the present treaty some new points introduced, concerning especially the introduction of products from countries which belong neither to the Austrian nor the British dominion. The reader may best judge of these by the text of the whole treaty, as follows.

"Art. I.—From the date of the ratification of this present treaty, British vessels arriving in, or departing from, the ports of the Emperor of Austria, and Austrian vessels arriving, or departing from, the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, and those of all the possessions of Her Britannic Majesty, shall be subject to no other or higher duties or charges of whatsoever nature they may be, than those which are actually or may hereafter be, imposed on national vessels, on their entering into, or departing from such ports respectively,

"Art. II.—All productions of Austria, *including the said productions which may be exported through the northern outlet of the Elbe and the eastern outlet of the Danube*, and which may be imported into the ports of the United Kingdom and the possessions of Her Britannic Majesty; and also all the productions of the United Kingdom and possessions of Her Britannic Majesty which may be imported into the ports of Austria, shall enjoy reciprocally, in all respects, the same privileges and immunities and may

be imported and exported exactly in the same manner, in vessels of the one as in vessels of the other of the high contracting parties.

"Art. III.—All commodities not the productions of the two respective states, or their possessions, and *which may be legally imported from the ports of Austria, including those of the Danube*, into the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, of Malta and Gibraltar, and other possessions of Her Britannic Majesty, in Austrian vessels, shall be subject to the same duties only which would be paid on these same articles if they were imported in British vessels.

"Her Britannic Majesty extends by this treaty to Austrian navigation and trade the full benefits of the two British acts of parliament passed on the 28th August, 1833, regulating the trade and navigation of the United Kingdom and British possessions, as well as all other privileges of commerce and navigation now enjoyed, or to be hereafter granted, by existing laws, by orders in council, or by treaties to the most favoured nations.

"Art. IV.—All Austrian vessels arriving from the ports of the Danube as far as Galacz inclusively, shall, together with their cargoes, be admitted into the ports of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of all the possessions of Her Britannic Majesty, *exactly in the same manner as if such vessels came direct from Austrian ports, with all the privileges and immunities stipulated by the present treaty of navigation and commerce.* In like manner, all British vessels, with their cargoes, shall continue to be placed upon the same footing as Austrian vessels, whenever such British vessels shall enter into or depart from the same ports.

"Art. V.—In consideration of British vessels arriving direct from other countries than those belonging to the high contracting parties, being admitted with their cargoes into Austrian ports, without paying any other duties whatever than those paid by Austrian vessels, so also the productions of the soil and industry of the parts of Asia or Africa situated within the straits of Gibraltar, which shall have been brought into the ports of Austria, *may be re-exported from thence in Austrian vessels directly into British ports*, in the same manner, and with the same privileges as to all manner of duties and immunities, as if these productions were imported from Austrian ports in British vessels.

"Art. VI.—All commodities and articles of commerce which, according to the stipulations of the present treaty, or by the existing laws and ordinances of the respective states, may be legally imported into or exported from the states and possessions of the two high contracting parties, whether under the British or the Austrian flag, shall, in like manner, be subject to the same duties, whether imported by national vessels or by those of the other state; and upon all commodities and articles of commerce which may be legally exported from the ports of either state, the same premiums, drawbacks, and advantages shall be accorded, whether they are exported by the vessels of the one or by those of the other state.

"Art. VII.—All commodities and articles of commerce, which shall be imported, placed in depôt, or warehoused in the ports of the states

and possessions of the two high contracting parties, so long as they shall remain in depôt or warehouse, and shall not be used for internal consumption, shall be subject, upon re-exportation, to the same treatment and duties, whether that re-exportation shall be made in the vessels of the one or those of the other state.

"Art. VIII.—No priority or preference shall be given, directly or indirectly, by the government of either country, or by any company, or corporation, or agent acting on its behalf, or under its authority, in the purchase of any article the production of the soil, industry, or art of either of the two states and their possessions imported into the ports of the other, on account of the nationality of the vessel in which such articles may be imported, it being the true intent and meaning of the high contracting parties that no difference or distinction whatever shall be made in this respect.

"Art. IX.—Grants the privileges of the most favoured nations to Austrian vessels trading with the East Indies.

"Art. X.—Restricts the coasting trade of both states to national vessels.

"Art. XI.—Confers on the commerce and navigation of the two states the privileges enjoyed by the most favoured nations, and provides that neither power shall 'grant any favours, privileges, or immunities whatsoever, in matters of commerce and navigation, to the subjects of any other state, which *shall not be also at the same time extended to the* subjects of the one or of the other of the high contracting parties,' on the same terms.

"Art. XII.—Confirms Article VII. of the convention of Paris relating to the commerce of the Ionian Islands.

"Art. XIII.—Provides that this treaty shall remain in force for ten years, till the 31st December, 1848.

"Art. XIV.—This treaty to be ratified."

With regard to the condition of our national trade and commerce, we do not believe that this treaty will exercise any material influence upon it. No doubt it will give new life to our intercourse with the Austrian provinces, and direct attention towards the branches of commerce peculiarly connected with that intercourse; but such changes happen very often in the commercial world, and they are often modified by circumstances of a very inferior description: so that the Austrian treaty, however deserving our acknowledgment, offers in this point of view nothing very remarkable. A very different effect however presents itself with regard to the influence of the treaty on the *Austrian* trade, and on the *continental* commerce at large. All vessels under the Austrian flag, coming from the ports of the Danube down to Galacz, are to be admitted with their cargoes into our ports on an equal footing with British vessels. This stipulation, if ever it becomes practicable, will give a novel and most important character to the navigation of the Danube. This newly-found

commercial road, extending almost 2000 miles in length (from Ulm to the Black Sea) is of high importance to the *Eastern trade generally*, and becomes with regard to that great division of commerce what the Rhine is now for Western Germany. The privileges bestowed by the treaty on the ports of the Danube will prove a sufficient impulse. Austria will contribute by all means in her power to favour the navigation of that river for the benefit of her industry in general, and for the purpose of promoting the trade of Hungary in particular. Hungary is the most precious jewel of the Austrian crown. The extreme fertility of her soil and the abundant variety of her produce; the advantages of her numerous rivers and lakes, forming natural canals from all parts of the country to the Danube; and, above all, her geographical position, as intermediate between the European and Eastern nations; all these qualifications of the kingdom of Hungary render her highly deserving the efforts made by Austria to rouse the slumbering powers of her industry, and to raise her to that distinguished place in the mercantile world which she ought to hold for her own interest and the advantage of Europe. The free admission of vessels coming from the Hungarian ports of the Danube into British ports opens the market of the world to the produce of Hungary; and this circumstance will be sufficient to call forth the industrious spirit of that country, which, possessing the most ample resources, has wanted nothing but such an impulse to begin a new era of social existence.

It is of little consequence that the Hungarian territory does not immediately border on the sea; for the opportunity afforded to navigation of the lower part of the Danube renders the countries situated on its banks as open to maritime intercourse, as if they were on the sea; and the ports of the Danube (*Donau-Hæfen;*) from Vienna or rather from *Ofen* down to the Black Sea (as Pesth, Temeswar, Peterwaradin, Semlin;) may be regarded as *really* sea ports. It is true that Hungarian industry, in agriculture as well as in manufactures, occupies still a very subordinate degree; it is however well known that the culture of grapes and tobacco, the manufactories for furriery and colouring materials (crap) and those of fire arms (in Ofen, Pezth and Temeswar,) are marked points, and will go far to establish the prosperity of that country. We do not say that this prosperity will be an immediate result of the treaty; but it will result in time from the impulse given by that treaty to the intercourse on the Danube.

Austria has extended, with our consent, the reciprocal advan tages of the treaty likewise to those ports of the Danube which are below her own territory, and belong to the dominion of

souzerain princes, tributaries indeed to the Ottoman empire, but who govern their own provinces with sovereign authority. The Austrian government has doubtless previously satisfied itself with regard to the ratification of these princes; but there is little fear of contradiction on their part, since they are all acutely aware of their own interests, as connected with their share in the conditions. Austria has however given a proof of her sagacity and foresight, in stipulating that the Danube ports down to Galacz (*i. e.* to the Russian frontiers) shall be included in the treaty; for by this stipulation she has foreseen and provided for a future connection of the commercial relations founded upon her own treaty with England, and those resulting from the recent treaty between England and Turkey. She has at the same time attained another object, in imposing upon the above mentioned souzerain princes of the Sultan a certain obligation which hereafter will become the link of a closer intercourse. Among those princes may be specified Prince Milosch of Servia, who wants nothing but a more extended dominion to approach nearer to a comparison with the Czar Peter. He has created the nucleus of a future state, which may perhaps rise to unexpected greatness should circumstances favour its intended developement. This prince's efforts to civilize his people and prepare them for future prosperity deserve the highest praise.

Servia, a *terra incognita*, is growing up with silent but astonishing rapidity, and, with Dalmatia, into high political importance. Servia, which twenty years ago was, with regard to its intellectual and industrial culture almost barbarous, has made immense progress in public instruction, administrative order, and industrious activity. Doctor Münster of Augsburg has been engaged to come to Servia, in order to establish schools and other institutions for public instruction The administration of justice has been highly improved by dividing the country into districts, and providing each with an administrative and judicial tribunal, controlled by a central authority. Encouragement has been given to commerce and industry: and Prince Milosch has sent agents to the different continental capitals and likewise to London, in order to establish commercial connections between Servia and other countries; a considerable transaction for instance took place a year ago, between a Servian agent and a London company, concerning a quantity of materials for ship-building.

If the results of these efforts have not yet been sufficient to place Servia high in the political and commercial world, they have nevertheless deserved and obtained the attention of several cabinets of Europe. Russia and Austria have struggled for the prevailing influence with Prince Milosch; but it would appear

he has succeeded in maintaining his independence, and enters into no special obligation with either of these powers. But however he may have been induced to favour Russia in particular cases in order to avoid dangerous collisions, the interests of Servia are rather connected with Austria. The aim of the former must be to obtain an independent position as regards the Ottoman empire, and to become with the aid of time and circumstances of some, though but minor, importance, in the diplomacy of Europe; this can only be obtained by the aid of Austria.

The position of the other principalities, souzerains to Turkey, is very similar to that of Servia; they are all in a state of semi-barbarism, and in their political and social infancy; they all aspire to a higher degree of civilization and political emancipation from Turkey. But though Servia is one of the smallest of these states, and less important with regard to her actual forces, she is the only one that makes visible and consistent efforts towards her objects, and it is for that reason we have mentioned her above the other, more extended, and with regard to their present state more important principalities. The latter offer few substantive features, and we need only add that all these last principalities are in a condition which renders the epoch of the Austrian treaty a regenerative moment in their social life; as, in virtue of Art. 4 of that treaty, they are for the first time concerned in a formal commercial transaction, which turns the attention and the interest of England—the queen of commerce—towards them.

Undoubtedly so shrewd and active a politician as Prince Milosch will do all in his power for the purpose of attracting the mercantile navy of Austria and obtaining his share of the advantages resulting from Art. 4 of the treaty; a share which, with time and opportunity, may become very material. The importance of Servia will strongly affect Greece. But the encouragement of the navigation of the Danube, resulting from the Austrian treaty, will exercise its principal influence upon the condition of German commerce and industry. The dominion of the Danube and its dependent streams comprises the most industrious provinces of Germany; Suabia, a part of Franconia, Bavaria, Tyrol, Steyermark, Carinthia, and the Archduchy of Austria.

We trust to explain in the course of this article the actual views of Austria, to unite the commercial interests of all these countries and direct their intercourse towards her own dominions. The fact that many of the countries bordering on the Danube are now bound by the Prussian League, cannot form an obstacle to her views; for the advantages which she will be enabled to offer them are far more important than those resulting from the League, and they will in consequence probably with-

draw from it at the earliest opportunity: this is not far distant, as the first term of its existence is at hand. It is evident that all the efforts of that Union to become an independent power in the commercial world, and to satisfy the industrious wishes and wants of its members, will be vain and unsuccessful so long as the League cannot succeed in uniting with its territory the countries which border immediately on the sea-coast. The Prussian ports on the Baltic are so far distant from the commercial and industrious movement of Germany that they by no means obviate the want of an immediate contact with seafaring nations. The League remains therefore in a state of dependency upon those countries which have the advantage of immediate communication with the sea; and these last, standing in no want of the services of the League, whilst this needs their concurrence for admission to the sea-ports, are entitled to prescribe the conditions of that admission, to which the League is obliged to yield. The principal ports of the German Ocean, Hamburgh, Bremen, the whole coast of Hanover, have to this day resisted the Union; and they will always resist, because their dominions possess such great advantages over those of the latter. It is only with their permission that the League can take a share in the maritime and universal trade, and without their assistance it would be confined almost to its own frontiers. This is indeed but a state of half-existence for a commercial institution; and the industrious countries which have formed the League are so fully aware of this great disadvantage, that they are above all desirous of an opportunity to obtain a free admission to the sea, and, consequently, to universal commerce.

We may notice, by the way, that these remarks tend to illustrate the double position in our last number; namely, that the commercial policy of Prussia in the case of the League, was essentially erroneous and selfish; and that though it did for a time, as we noticed, aid the commerce of a part of Germany, yet that commerce was artificial in its origin, and therefore probably will be contracted in duration. Our own opinion of the countries in question seeking to share in the bolder scheme presented under Austrian auspices is shared by the able correspondent of a morning paper high in the confidence of government, who, however, assails our last article with no measured warmth of language: tantæne animis celestibus iræ?

But whether the League be dissolved, or permanent, hereafter, we would observe that neither case affects the question of arresting in the outset the acknowledged injuries it has done to our commerce hitherto.

To return: Austria having established, by the treaty in ques-

tion, her intercourse with the country which presides over the navigation of all nations, can offer to the states alluded to advantages which they have looked for in vain from the League. She can open to them the Mediterranean through the port of Trieste; she can open to them the Black Sea through the Danube; and the ports of the latter being entitled, in virtue of the treaty, to a free and unrestrained intercourse with the ports of Great Britain, are for the German States gates opening into the domain of universal commerce; the more so, as the water-road of the Danube is accessible for almost all Germany; the range of the Danube and its dependent streams being not only extremely extensive in itself, but comprising also the countries situated in the neighbourhood of the Elbe; since a railroad from Budweis to Linz has brought these two rivers into intimate connection.

Such are the general and principal views which the Austrian Treaty opens to the continental trade. We shall have an opportunity of developing some of these more particularly in the course of our article; but we repeat that the treaty, however advantageous in itself, will not exercise a *great* and *immediate* influence on the commercial and industrious state of England.

The ministerial organs in truth have not only much exaggerated the commercial and industrial importance of the treaty itself, but they have endeavoured to present it in a point of view which utterly mistates the political condition of Austria. It has been boldly and broadly intimated that the treaty is the result of a victory won by Whig policy in its conflict with the conservative spirit prevailing in Austria; and that the latter, filled with panic terror by the revolutionary events in France, Belgium, and the Peninsula, and by our own former liberal tendency, had now been *reassured;* nay, that she has been converted to somewhat of Radicalism by the able diplomacy of our agents! "Our own liberal policy and reforms (these are the authentic words of a semi-official periodical,) had alarmed Austria and thrown her altogether into the arms of Russia; but now Austria having recovered from that panic-horror of revolution into which the events of the last ten years had thrown her, Prince Metternich and his sovereign have both become alive to the encroachments of Russia beyond the Danube, and our diplomatists have taken the earliest and best advantage of their feelings to conclude a treaty defending the joint interests of Austria and England."

These words, apparently trivial, are no less extravagant than unjust. They are intended to exaggerate, at the expense of Austria and her ministers, the talents and merits of our own; but this language serves only to compromise our national dig-

nity and provokes ridicule in the continental cabinets. We have always regarded Austria as the most solid and estimable of the continental powers; and a close and intimate alliance with her has ever been considered the most powerful basis for maintaining the political and social interests of England. But there is little hope that such an alliance between England and Austria as now formed can be permanent. A deadly contradiction and discordance exists between the leading principles of Whig government and the political system of Austria; and the great statesman whose genius rules the Austrian empire will never consent to compromise his *conservative* principles.

Nothing, in truth, can be more false or erroneous than the impression indirectly sought to be introduced into the official interpretations of the treaty; namely, that the Austrian government in concluding it had made some concessions to the political opinions of our diplomatists, or that it had in the slightest degree relinquished its ancient maxims of conservative policy. Those maxims have been for several generations the basis of her governmental system, and to them she owes her greatness; with them, as with a spiritual tie, she has linked together the various nations and countries forming her empire, uniting them in one powerful organic system, by which she has become the arbiter of European politics. The Austrian treaty might indeed have been, under different circumstances, the first step towards the future establishment of an intimate and more important alliance of the political as well as commercial interests of both countries.

But in considering the real nature and origin of the treaty before us, a single glance on the political position of Austria will be sufficient to show the error of representing her as agitated by panic-terror during a period when she most strikingly displayed her superiority to such emotions. Far from trembling or throwing herself, as pretended, into the arms of Russia or any other protecting power, she has continually exhibited, during the agitations of Europe, a dignity and moderation inseparable from the consciousness of real power and greatness. The behaviour of the Austrian cabinet with regard to the political agitations which since 1830 have taken place in Germany, is in itself sufficiently interesting to deserve a careful consideration.

Many circumstances then contributed to complicate the task of the Austrian government in the case of the political convulsions of Germany: she had not merely to resist the anarchical efforts of the German demagogues;—this was indeed comparatively easy,—for the German spirit is always adverse to the naturalization of that exotic poison, denominated revolutionary propagandism. The

Germans are essentially gifted with a methodical and reflecting disposition, which unfits them for becoming tools to the ambitious schemes of demagogues. Those who had been infected by the revolutionary contagion remained isolate; and as their projects found no sympathy with the people, the little chance they had of success could create no serious uneasiness in the mind of Austria. But much more difficult and delicate was the position of this power with regard to her ambiguous ally and rival Prussia. The cabinet of Berlin, far from assisting the efforts of Austria for pacifying the territory of the German confederation, did, on the contrary, all it could to raise difficulties in the way of that pacification; and whilst Prussia, dissembling in the German Diet as well as in her conferences with the Austrian cabinet, pretended great zeal for the maintenance of the Austrian system in Germany, she was actually endeavouring on the other hand, to flatter the adversaries of that system by a display of mock liberalism, and by the arts of political coquetry towards the spirit of innovation rising in Southern Germany. Besides these difficulties, from a quarter from whence she ought to have experienced the promptest assistance, Austria was obliged to deal with the whims of the king of Bavaria, who, having been formerly deeply compromised in the political intrigues that tended to overthrow the confederative constitution of Germany, still retained many reminiscences and connections of that period; and, jealous in maintaining the show of sovereignty, often crossed the most important measures for the mere purpose of satisfying his vanity. The most difficult part however of the obligations of Austria during the period in question was, the maintenance of her political system in the legislation of the German confederacy, which was exposed to continual attacks and threatened with mortal encroachments on the part of the legislative chambers of Southern Germany, where the spirit of unprincipled innovation, and a wild tendency to destroy the ancient foundations of social and political organization prevailed. Austria obtained success without any display; she protected her own territory and the dominion of the German confederacy against the revolutionary contagion by moderation, prevention, and energetic resolution. Public opinion in Germany has judged with equity between the conduct of other governments and that of Austria. The discontent and disaffection created by the interference of governmental authority with the anarchical or innovating tendencies of political parties have manifested themselves exclusively against those, whilst the Austrian cabinet, having always maintained its dignity, is regarded with esteem and even affection; for the ancient ties of loyalty and mutual regard, which during the period of the German empire linked the interests of the House of Austria with

those of the German nation at large, are not yet forgotten; that feeling of ancient fidelity, with which they regarded the emperor as their feudal sovereign and supreme chief, still lives in the hearts of the German princes and nobles; and neither the machinations of scheming rivals, nor the mania of innovation in the democratic parties, can eradicate it; thus the interests of Germany at large are intimately connected with those of Austria. By her influence also several new institutions have been introduced into the German confederacy, and all of them have the unquestionable tendency of doing justice towards all classes and parties. We take as an instance the Arbitrary Court of the German Confederacy. This was created, October 1834, in order to give to the subjects of the constitutional states protection against every abuse of governmental power, and to settle lawfully and peaceably any difficulty arising between the governments and the legislative chambers.

By a system of equal policy and moderation Italy has been to some considerable degree reconciled to Austrian supremacy, especially by the temperate conduct of the latter power in the last revolutionary movements subsequent to 1830. The states more immediately under her sway thus conciliated, and particularly by the well-judged amnesty of the present emperor, the neighbouring countries also have been satisfied to consider the Austrian power as the arbiter of their differences and difficulties.

Such is Austria, uniting under her immediate dominion some of the most flourishing countries of Europe, with a population of more than thirty millions, and ruling over the destinies of two great nations besides her own proper dominion; her dignity and influential authority established and maintained in every cabinet of the world, her alliance solicited even by those who cannot conceal their dislike, and her power feared by her enemies. Such is Austria, the chief and foremost of that political system which is called conservative, because it aims at preserving the natural and organic development of the life and of the destiny of nations and countries.

Prince Metternich manifested his opinions concerning commercial leagues in general, even at the time of the conferences at Vienna in 1820; and especially explained himself most decidedly with regard to the project of Prussia, as to a commercial league between the members of the German confederacy; declaring without any ambiguity, that he considered it by no means advantageous to the confederated states. The Austrian cabinet has always remained adverse to that union; for it has ever been the prevailing opinion at Vienna that Prussia has created it for the purpose of increasing her influence in the interior affairs of the

smaller states of Germany, and of counterbalancing, by cunning and intrigues, the open prevalence of Austria.

It is in the most complete accordance with our convictions concerning the Austrian policy, to consider the treaty as concluded on the part of Austria in order to oppose to the system of commercial leagues or unions, such as it has been established in Germany, a system of commercial *treaties*. The most striking difference exists between these two. The former (that of leagues) is founded upon the principle of ruling, by confederative laws, all the commercial affairs of every country comprised in the league; it binds all the members of the league, with regard to their national intercourse, and obliges them to confine their commerce and industry within the bounds of the confederated legislation; it compels them also to bar, by duties and difficulties, the produces of other countries from their frontiers. But the worst consequence of the system is, that it aims unavoidably at ruling, besides the commercial affairs, the politics also of the members; commerce and politics are in a necessary and natural reciprocity; and as the more powerful member of every union has always the advantage over the weaker, the commercial leagues tend directly towards a system of commercial and political tutorship, exercised by the more powerful over the rest. It is quite otherwise with the system of commercial treaties, which, founded on the principle of leaving to every country the free and independent management of its own affairs in commerce and politics; and exacting only a reciprocity of free intercourse between the contracting nations; it remains at the disposition of each of these to conclude with foreign countries as many similar or other treaties as they find convenient. Whilst commercial leagues are only conducive to emulation, jealousy, and discord, commercial treaties are to be regarded as the direct steps towards universal intercourse.

It was not however our own intention to intimate that the conduct of Prussia had politically no tendencies whatever to the general benefit of Europe. Anxious always to increase her influence, so cruelly crushed for a time, she took advantage of the treaty that had wrested from Austria the actual sovereignty of Germany, and as the states previously under the influence of the latter grew and strengthened in their novel independence, Prussia, by adroitly seizing the new-born desire for commerce and manufactures, has certainly converted the league, not only into a commercial but a political engine also to aid her resolves of emancipation from Russian influence; and, as we have already stated in a previous Number (Oct. 1838, p. 201,) her policy has been completely successful. She has on all occasions resisted the attempted

encroachments of Russia, whether to steal into the German confederacy as sovereign of Courland, or to extend her already enormous and ill-gotten sway over Poland; as she formerly refused, in spite of the family connection, to assist Russia in the campaigns against Turkey. "The emperor relies on your majesty's support," said the Russian intriguer, "because he is your son-in-law." "That is true," replied Frederick William, "but I do not give it because I am his imperial majesty's father-in-law."

The object of Prince Metternich in the renewal or formation of the treaty, is doubtless in part to strike a blow at the union itself.

A more than sufficient compensation would be found for several of the states included in it if they could be included in the Austrian treaty with England. Such is especially the case with Bavaria, the most powerful of the German states after Prussia. Every one at all acquainted with the trade and commerce in Eastern Germany and especially with the particular nature of the Bavarian industry, will perceive at a single glance how seductive such a temptation must appear to Bavaria. The advantages she derives from the union are not to be compared with the important consequences obtainable if she could send her produce through Tyrol and the Adriatic seaports (Triest, Venice, &c.) to every country which wants them. The example of Bavaria would be in itself an inducement for the smaller states; the latter could be induced to prefer a treaty with Austria and England to their union; especially those smaller countries which are bordering on the Baltic and the German Ocean.

We regard the approaching term of the Prussian union as affording ourselves the opportunity of forming a treaty with Prussia upon equal terms. We can never too strongly reprobate the fatuity that, under the enlightening influence of liberalism, induced the whig government of a former day, under the inauspicious theories of Mr. Huskisson, to open our colonial ports to the nations of the continent unreservedly. The consequence has been that Prussian vessels have imported into them the cottons and tobacco of America and their own manufactured goods, at little cost, to the injury and destruction of the colonial interests of Great Britain. In Wurtemberg, where ten years since the natives were emigrating in crowds, the manufactures are now flourishing and all hands busily employed at home. Bavaria is similarly advantaged by the same cause: and while the genius of universal philanthropy, whatever that may be, rejoices in the improvement so effected, she (or he, for we know nothing of the existence of this very sympathetic personage,) must not be allowed to forget that it is effected at the expense of our own suffering countrymen.

So long indeed as this unlimited freedom is given her, Prussia

may safely smile at the Treaty of England with Austria as regards herself. The inconveniences of secession from the League would be visited by her upon the seceding states, and a permission to import her corn from the Polish provinces would far outweigh any loss that could accrue to her from the treaty in question.

Her anxiety indeed upon this last question is great, and there is in it one material consideration; namely the opening, though indirectly, the interior of Poland to English trade, and consequently inducing a tolerably close connection of interests between the latter country and Great Britain; but this is a purely political question.

On the mooted point, whether the abolition of our corn-laws would be fatal to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of Prussia, as asserted by one party, who are desirous of the continuance of those laws, considering the high price here to be favourable to the development of Prussian industry; while their opponents contend that a moderate price would become permanent by the abolition demanded, and benefit industry proportionately by bringing more money than at present into the market, since consumption would rise in proportion;—we need not dwell at any length here, as the question is settled for a time. But with regard to Germany it has been said, if we allow a free importation of corn, the Germans will be able to take more of our manufactures in return. They may undoubtedly be able, but the difficulty is, will they be willing, and with the asserted hostility as regards Prussia, will they be permitted. Our own opinion is, that if the Germans were enabled, by obtaining a larger profit from their corn, to expend more money in the purchase of manufactured goods, they would purchase those of their own country in preference to those of England and Scotland, the cheapness of which no longer allures them as it used, now that they are aware of their want of durability, of the deceitfulness of the gay colour, which disappears at the first washing, and of the fraudulent practices employed to give them an appearance of value which they do not intrinsically possess.

Our Glasgow merchants could doubtless explain all this, if they would.

Brunswick and Hanover, boasting little beyond the produce of the Harz mountains, and too poor for a port, yet rely upon the single support of Hamburgh, itself an eye-sore to Prussian combinations, and threatened with extinction by Prussian jealousy. The two countries first-named, though they would most unquestionably be great gainers by joining the Confederation of the League, have yet stood firm to the interests of Great Britain; the latter too, fortunately, under a sovereign connected so closely with the British crown, and indued from infancy by birth and station

with British patriotism. The attempts that have been made, therefore, in certain quarters to sever the connection of the two states might, if successful, have had the effect only of injuring ourselves.

France also, and with reason, complains against the German Commercial League; for by its influence she greatly suffers in commerce and manufactures. From 1828 to 1832, (previous to the establishment of that system) her exports to Germany increased from 36 to 49,000,000 francs; but subsequently, that is to say in the year 1837, they fell to 36,000,000 frs., according to the latest published result of that year. The transit-trade of produce or manufactured goods through French ports and by land-carriage amounted in 1834, to 4,000,000 frs., and was reduced in 1837 to 3,000,000 frs. Her uneasiness therefore cannot be wondered at. Meantime the commerce of Holland with Germany by the Rhine has increased so much, that it now employs 82,000 tons of craft.

With regard to France, we cannot but consider the conclusion of the Austrian Treaty as in some degree a mark of English feeling, roused at length with our ministry, at her eternal evasions and insincerity on every point and, not least of all, her conduct in the affair of the Quadruple Alliance. We should also throw out a hint upon a matter well deserving the most serious consideration, and far more important than it seems to have been hitherto considered. We mean the competition existing between France and Austria respecting the transit of English steam communications. Austria is by nature and position our ally, and still more firmly than ever under existing circumstances, now that she perceives the good sense of the nation exerted to stop the progress of those baneful measures that since the unhappy era of the Reform Bill have offered a means of turning England, and through her, half Europe into anarchy and republicanism. Austria is now reassured; and her own necessities and those of England in the Eastern question link the interests of the two countries into one permanent bond. The outcry raised formerly, by Whigs and Revolutionists equally, in England against Austria seems to have subsided the instant the policy of her able statesman became known. His extraordinary talents and profound caution have saved his country from a formidable revolutionary crisis, and preserved to her the happiness of her people, proverbially the happiest in Europe. After the wild and unmeaning abuse so long showered by one portion of our countrymen against this unrivalled statesman, it is a strong indicative of returning reason to perceive our ministers grasping the hand of brotherhood with him whom they had so long abused.

Of France we need say little; her political jealousies are

known; her shameless abuse of treaties and good faith towards England in particular are borne out more than ever by recent events at Buenos Ayres, the particulars of which have not yet come to full light; but they seem intended to overturn the British influence and interest there. It ought not to be forgotten how anxiously she has toiled in the same path for years. Buenos-Ayres seems her especial object; for we must recall to the mind of our readers how an intrigue, having for its object the destruction of British interest in that very country, was brought to light some years since by one of the numerous revolutions that occurred there: the papers were published, and it was found that they were signed by the French Foreign Minister, Decazes, if we remember rightly. The discovery reached the English court the day before the arrival of that very minister as ambassador to the king of England, to whose ministry, too, he had been making the most solemn protestations of good faith and French honour, upon that very subject, immediately before quitting the bureau of foreign affairs.

The questions of Egypt, and of India, are of no slight importance to France; and if the English mails are to go through her dominions, who can answer for the integrity of those communications? Did not an unfortunate error throw, some years since, the letters of various southern refugees, entrusted to a well known English wandering and political character, into the hands of the French government? That the letters themselves were of very questionable tendency there could be no doubt, and so far the act was justifiable. But what has caused the recent stoppage and detention of the English messenger, and abstraction of the English mail from him for two days, in the south of France by the authorities? A mistake no doubt; for so it has been explained and apologized for; and John Bull is to believe it and feel very happy. But France never makes these mistakes without deriving all she wants to gain from them, and such mistakes occur whenever they would be convenient to her objects. Witness the mistake of the Mexican affair made by the Prince de Joinville owing to inexperience! Is France so heedless of her navy just now as to trust it to inexperienced hands? Or is the son of the astute, able, and accomplished Louis Philippe,—is a French prince, of the blood-royal of France, brought up usually in such ignorance the law of nations as would disgrace the humblest gentleman in France!

We strongly therefore urge attention to the very suspicious "mistake" of the English letter-bags; and if some difficulties were to arise to-morrow in the East, or with Egypt, who would guarantee that another opportune mistake might not be made? Are not the practices of secret information in France notorious?

Where agents of the police mingle with the guests, at the tables d'hote and report the conversation of guests as we have means of knowing, or visit with false keys the trunks of the traveller during his temporary absence from his chamber. Throughout France the dissatisfied complain more of the system of espionage than of all else; and are British communications to be rendered liable to this, when Austria is open to us; Austria whose faith has never been denied or doubted; Austria, the most open and honourable government of the continent?

We are happy to see that the trade of Austria, already in a certain degree flourishing, is receiving a new impetus from the effects of the Treaty, and from the wise efforts of her government to raise a mercantile navy, as a supply, should occasion require it, for a larger naval warlike force than she has ever hitherto had occasion for.

"The number of merchant vessels belonging to Austria at the end of 1838, was 498, with a total of 122,844 tons; the number of steamers was 15, total 5,114 tons.

"Out of the 498 vessels, 155 were employed in trading to ports in the Adriatic, the Levant, and the Archipelago: 147 in the Black Sea, the Sea of Azof, and the Danube; 167 in the Mediterranean; 12 in the Atlantic; 4 in the Northern Seas and the Baltic; and 13 to America."

The consideration of a nursery for seamen is of the greatest importance, as Austria, now becoming, what she has long desired to be, to a certain degree a mercantile power, must from her connection with Italy, if pushed to the extent she herself designs it, as Protectress of a Confederation, be prepared to support her authority there as well as in the face of foreign nations, by a command of the sea as of the land. To what extent this can be done remains as yet a question; but the progress of her trade with Turkey, &c. through the Black Sea and the Mediterranean will impose new duties as it forms new rights. And it is clear that her government did not adopt the present system without a full determination to act up to it on all points, as is shown in the introduction into the treaty of that condition which requires the concurrence of Turkey to render it available. Cautious as the Austrian Government has ever been in all its foreign measures, more especially as regards the latter power and Russia, it is obvious that considerations for this last do not now interfere to check her favourable disposition towards the Ottoman Empire. Time will show whether this is not something more than a mere commercial compact.

With regard to Russia, as the question is chiefly political we refer the reader to our article on the subject in another part of our Number.

ART. VIII.— *Det Brittiska Riket i Ostindien.* (The British Dominions in Hindostan.) By Count M. Bjornstjerna. Stockholm. 1839.

SINCE our two last Numbers were published so formidable a crisis has arrived and past from our Oriental possessions and connections, and the first impression of relief from perils apparently imminent has naturally produced so strong and corresponding a confidence in a state of repose, as obtained at least for a time, that whilst the former occurrences have in their rapid succession mocked in appearance at all calculation, they have also enhanced our disposition towards present indifference. This last, in truth, is not altogether surprizing under the actual circumstances; for if dangers can thus approach and vanish, and changes so swiftly succeed each other, as though effected by an inexplicable power and the wand of a magician, they must have in their nature a considerable affinity to phantasmagoria, which assume such menacing forms and yet prove, to the very eyes they have threatened, absolute exaggerations conjured up by art.

It is not indeed in the nature of things to avoid this obvious conclusion; for if such dangers were apprehended where so little ground for alarm exists at the moment, there must have been exaggeration somewhere: not wilful, probably, but incidental to the discussions and resolves arising out of real occurrences happening at a distance; of which, too, no certain nor regular information could be had, even at our nearest eastern settlements, by the public; and whose consequent incertitude and anxious doubts, still further perplexed by perpetual contradictory rumours, magnified each object of contemplation seen through its haze. By these imperfect channels came our only supplies of intelligence, and it is not to be wondered at therefore if our ideas were confused and our judgment misled. Equally distant from the theatre of events and the sources of our information, it has scarce been sufficiently borne in mind by the English public, that those two points formed the base of a very extensive isosceles triangle, the lines of both whose sides were constantly rendered vague and indistinct by their prolongation across such vast distances, to their apex in Britain.

Since then the difficulties that seemed so immediate have vanished, even without contact, we need hardly repeat that our estimation of them must have been incorrect; and that this incorrectness must have arisen from miscalculation of the powers or objects acting in opposition to our interests. There is no escape from these conclusions. Either Persia was less hostile, or else less strongly supported by circumstances on the one hand and by

Russia on the other: and this latter power, consequently, was less able, and, not impossibly, less willing, than she had been supposed, to employ violence against British power in the East. The exposure that has taken place of the weakness, and, however originated, the pacific dispositions of Persia, has also exposed, as distinctly, the weakness, if not the pacific dispositions of Russia in that quarter: and it is a strong argument against those who insist on the matchless foresight and skill of this last power, if she has urged on her ally schemes so daring, and developed openly in herself ambition so vast as imputed to her, with such paucity of means to support it. The attempt, if really made by the Russian government, was the grossest of errors of infatuation and cupidity; and the recoil of failure, however produced, has humbled and degraded her as much as it has exalted her rival: this, too, not only in Europe but the east: not merely amongst nations capable of appreciating facts, but also, and worse, amongst barbarian tribes, who have neither means nor intellects to judge of any such questions except by the immediate success.

For a power so strong as is asserted of Russia to have failed so soon and so signally on a point upon which she had set her hopes and her interests, is a problem the solution of which requires us to cast our eyes back upon the events of these few months. Our last article on this subject (NO. XLIII.) distinctly pointed out the peculiar position of Russia, both internal and as regarding foreign nations, in past and present times: and we argued that the very circumstances which made her existence aggressive, precluded her also, like the gigantic monsters of former periods, from a power of rapid locomotion, destructive to the world. Every defect of her internal and external position which we then noticed, has actually been proved in the rapid interval of scarcely three months. The commercial coldness and political suspicions of Prussia; the conspiracies in Lithuania and the whole line of Russian Poland; the distinct working of Austrian opposition; the rallying energies of Turkey; the indomitable hatred of Circassia; the disaffection of the South-Russian Cossacks; the explosion of hostility in the Caucasus; the imbecility and intestine dissensions of Persia, and her doubtful faith; the superior prowess and ultimate success of the Affghan and Turcoman tribes; and more than all, the rebellious state of her native armies;—all these have been exemplified incontestably of late, and all have shown that Russia possesses no energies for a distant field, if only common care is taken to embarrass her on every point of her weakness.

If we quoted against one portion of our opinions the military opinions of Marshal Marmont, we also supported our own by

that of an equally able military judge: and the Marquis of Londonderry had this advantage over his gallant rival, that with an admitted power of military *apercu*, a clear scope and keen eye as to the real position and value of warlike circumstances; qualities which recommended him, as ambassador to Russia, to the unquestionable penetration and honesty of the Duke of Wellington; —he has been on the spot, and witnessed the financial weakness and unwieldy dislocation of the Russian empire; defects which required the efforts of the government to be devoted to internal consolidation. The very failures in the east, noticed at our outset, are evidence of this, and assist the solution of the question, How has Russia, with so much power and so much skill, so signally failed in a darling object? The obvious reply, which would refer this to common weakness is manifestly derogatory to her imputed tact, skill, and foresight. And yet these she certainly possesses.

The real solution of the question, we conceive, lies somewhat deeper than the bare surface, and may be found in the composition of the different parties that sway the interests of the country as their alternating influence points.

There are in Russia two sets of antagonist principles, to whose motive we have made some allusion in our preceding article, but which we propose to consider here at somewhat greater length.

The antagonisms we have referred to are, first, of the so called Russian and German parties; and next, of the monarch and his ministry.

The Russian party, which as its name denotes, consists almost entirely of natives, is jealously vigilant of its rivals, and, for the most part, entertains the strongest antipathy towards anything like foreign intervention or dictation in the concerns of the empire. It is subdivided into various classes.

The great nobility, proud of their wealth, influence, and domains, holding themselves as the actual guardians of the sovereign and the real rulers of the state, though under the thinnest of possible disguises:—they hold themselves, so to say, accountable for the acts of the court, if not of the government, towards their own nation on the one hand, and towards foreign states on the other; and, whatever may be their mutual rivalries, always agree on the one point, that the government of Russia should be less monarchical than oligarchical. Confident in their former glories, and their present influence and real weight in the empire, they are ever disposed to look upon their sovereign but as the nucleus and motive power of their own will, and the source from which lustre is derived for themselves; in short, the mere basis of their own elevation and stability; to which last, however, every thing else, the sovereign included, must become a sacrifice

when necessary. These families, who have always played a conspicuous, and always too a fatal, part, in the lifetime of Catherine and in the deaths of the Peters, Paul, and Alexander, even too in despite of their personal attachment to the last, have felt not less astounded than mortified and degraded at the bold hand with which Nicholas grasped the reins of power; when, with a skill and decision for which history has but few parallels, he arrested and compelled the elements of discord into one firm and compact mass, and held it pressed so sternly beneath his foot that they who had calculated on restraining at least, if not rivalling and directing his course, durst not even show their heads at the moment above the station assigned them. The least whisper of combination and the offender would have been crushed at once. They sunk, therefore, from an oligarchy to courtiers; but retain in their subject state their ancient failings and aspirations—for supremacy at home and foreign refinements.

The Boyars or Agrestic nobility, on the other hand, remain attached to their ancient usages and barbaric magnificence: foreign manners and luxuries are abhorred, and the word Russian is with them the sole designation for all that is desirable. They love their monarch because he is a Russian; adhere to old customs because they are Russian; treat their boors or slaves in the Russian manner; and think Russia the arbitress and exemplar of the world. Their regard for the sovereign would be devotion, if he did not employ and encourage foreigners in his service; but this is a serious objection to him.

The Army contains an ample portion of the foregoing parties; considerably modified of course as to the oligarchy of the one and the isolation of the other class, but with causes of discontent peculiarly its own; and arising from the perpetual contrast between the severity and privations of their own service, the absolute destitution of distant stations and hopeless absences, with the comparative luxuries of other lands of which they have more or less an actual and a traditionary knowledge. The rustic officers are proud, ignorant, independent; the scions of the great nobility restless, enterprizing, and ambitious; extravagant in their habits, and impatient of the control to which these are subjected: they are brilliant, thoughtless, dissipated, presumptuous, embarrassed; and hence, revolutionary.

The army is confident in its numbers and recent successes abroad; in its sympathetic organization at home: constant correspondence is kept up between the various regiments; and this correspondence is materially aided and promoted by the nobles, who look upon it as their future tool, and a present counterpoise to imperial authority.

The large class of Civil employés in the Russian service is in its lower grade selfish and brutal, in its upper dextrous and artful, half-educated, and intriguing. Poor, and anxious to amass fortunes, they are universally corrupt, and eager to attract notoriety, because this leads to eminence and comparative wealth. There is nothing, consequently, within their range of sight that they do not strive to grasp; and, like all semi-barbarians, believing their own land to be the only one, are universally strenuous in their efforts for national advantages as the sure path of private interest. Every family of the smallest standing has connections in this class. They love Russia beyond every thing, but themselves.

These men too hate England for her commercial riches, and scarcely less for her reputation.

The Russian boors are a simple, happy, hardy, ignorant feudal race, who hold the Emperor as God, and regard the cudgel as his especial revelation.

On the other hand, the foreign or German party as it is called, is distinguished for honesty and fidelity to the sovereign, the source of their honours, means, and hopes. They are his Prætorians—in the best sense of the term. Anxious for his interests and their own, they are ever ready for active service, which is opposed by the national party out of jealousy to them alone. Hence arises a continual vacillation of councils within the empire, though the despotic form of the government prevents its being often perceptible without.

We now proceed to the second antagonism.

The Ministry is an intermixture of characters of the first and third classes of the native party, with a small proportion of the foreign—they are the oligarchs of place, not of birth, and fain to control the sovereign rather than be controlled by him: they are intriguing, adroit, ambitious, and vain glorious: possessing the true employé spirit, they are ever scheming for national and individual advantages. Hence they are constantly acting independent of the sovereign, and of each other, but all uniformly busied in every species of foreign intrigue.

No one who has approached the Emperor can doubt his character or talents. Amenity and kindness, frankness and affability, joined with a high will that never stops at half measures, but exerts and declares itself almost too unreservedly. Nicholas may be a master of concealment and artifice, but those who know him best do not pretend to have discovered it, and consider simplicity his characteristic rather than reserve. Abilities and intellect of the first class, and station so high as to have left him no cause for stooping, seem to vindicate this opinion. The subtleties of Alexander's character were the offspring of an extremely difficult posi-

tion, and the reverses of his foreign policy; yet even he, though artful and ambitious, was affectionate in spirit and true to his engagements. He left Nicholas no difficulties to contend with, except we call such the imperfect cohesion of the different parts of the empire, and the management of his ministry.

It is however unquestionable that the conduct of Russia has been of the most doubtful faith during his reign; and that changes of principle have taken place and opposite lines of conduct superseded each other, to the just scandal of the Russian policy; but the defect is in the system, and not in the personal character of the Emperor.

Though the native and German party both agree as to the expediency of foreign acquisition and aggrandizement, they differ most widely as to the means and instruments; and each would rather sacrifice the end than see it obtained through the medium of the other. Hence supplies have failed, provisions been wasted, the wounded have perished, commanders been paralyzed, and armies reduced to corps, because the leaders' political opponents were entrusted with his supplies; thus Wittgenstein was thwarted and disgraced; and thus Diebitsch, who covenanted for his own party before he would undertake the Turkish campaign, was ruined in Poland by his adversaries being in power. Thus, too, the changes and fickleness in the negotiations with Persia originated in the choice or displacement of a minister anxious chiefly to discredit his predecessor. The silence of a despotic system concealed the cause, and often rendered the baseness of an individual apparent only as the perfidy of the government.

But if this struggle of parties refers more especially to less recent times, the events of the present day take their origin in the antagonism of the Emperor and his ministry. Willing as we are to give Nicholas credit for generosity of private character, and openness amounting at times to even furious vehemence, we should be the last to deny that the steps of Russian agents have not exceeded in perfidy, fraud, violence, and baseness of every kind all that is related in history. Where indeed can a spot of British possessions be pointed out, in which they have not been sowing the seeds of future discord and disaster? What neighbours and allies have they left untried to detach from British connections and British interests? What arts of falsehood, insinuation, corruption, perjury, and forgery, have they omitted, to raise enemies to England in the very bosom of friendship? Is there one spot of the British empire which they have not carefully surveyed and reported? Is there one of the British dominions where traitors have not been courted or bought? Is there one inch of coast in the Mediterranean where treasonable corre-

spondence has not been established? Is there one Asiatic power not tempted by promises, flatteries, bribes, and vaunts, to become, though but secretly, the enemy of England?

These, too, are not the acts of petty and obscure and unnoticed agents alone; of men whose base and sordid station in society might excuse, if anything could, their wanton and foul disregard, not merely of the political duties, but even the personal decencies of feeling and gratitude. It is not only such men as these:—high names and dignitaries of the Russian empire, distinguished noblemen and veteran warriors; counts, princes, generals, admirals; public functionaries or retired from service;—some of them, too, greeted by Britain with confidence or rewarded with grateful favours ill deserved, have carried on for years this series of machinations; not unknown or unaided, at least by individuals, in the Russian embassies of London, Paris, and Vienna.

What can England, what can Europe, what can the world say or think of conduct so flagitious and faithless as this? Is dishonour inherent in a whole nation so entirely that the very men whom its sovereign selects and relies upon to uphold its faith with a foreign power should be the voluntary agent of treachery, abetting treasons and wars in the very countries where they themselves are received on the faith of character? Will the envy of some millions of trade, the jealousy of strong fortresses and fleets, and the hatred of a proud reputation for arts, arms, and independence, crawl through the filth of infamy to strike the assassin blow? But if England could be undermined and robbed of her station, on whom would the mantle of her glory descend? Could it fall upon a race that has thus steeped itself in baseness, and branded the characters of indelible shame on its own front? Could the glory of Britain descend with her power to blazon ignominy or consolidate usurpation? Are not national faith and honour the sole basis of stability—the hearts-blood that flows through the limbs, regulating their health and confirming their existence; while dishonour is the first stage of decay?

The policy of the Emperor himself is, as we have stated in the article already referred to, far less grasping than that of his predecessors, though far also in itself from being destitute of ambition. But it is the ambition of preservation more than acquisition; that of consolidating his power at home, and establishing it firmly in countries obtained through whatever means by his predecessors, and which he regards simply in the light of inheritance. There is no artifice or concealment on this point with him. On the contrary, it is carried to a length that often defies opinion in its undisguised and imperious vehemence. Nor is this a passing ebullition. So strong, indeed, is the feeling of the Emperor on

these matters, that there is nothing he would not risk to uphold his actual position on every the slighest point, even against the opinion of his court and ministers. Whilst appeals to his clemency and better feelings are promptly met and responded to in the kindliest spirit, whether from subjects or strangers, and acts or generosity are freely elicited on these occasions; the appearance of any thing like pertinacious opposition, though in favour of the best rights, in any portion of his established dominion, goads him to fury, not merely political but personal. Could Poland, for instance, consent to forget her claim to the rank of a nation, her gallant though exaggerated spirit of independence, and her high renown; could she sink down into the condition of a peaceful province of Russia, her individual interests would meet with an even paternal care; but Nicholas has no room in his heart, nor sympathy, for the struggles of bondmen burning to be free.

The antagonism of the Emperor and ministry is consequently two-fold; for whereas, as in the case of Poland, the views of the sovereign are determined towards peremptory and unyielding despotism, some amongst his ministers are in favour of a far milder system. And as hopes and intimations of this nature have been repeatedly held out to the least vehement of the Polish patriots, many of them men of undoubted integrity and real patriotism, a belief in these hopes and a desire to repress the wilder and more hopeless outbreaks of impatient subjugation, have procured for these milder counsellors, though most undeservedly, the name of traitors from their more ardent countrymen.

On the other hand, the Emperor is far from coinciding with the restless system of foreign intrigue carried on constantly and openly, and in despite of him, by the ministry and their agents, with the aid of their friends of the acquisition party. And as all place, power, and influence is in the hands of these; as the system itself is in fact thoroughly Russian, changes of place and person have never done any thing more than altering at most the mere means of proceeding. Thus the outworks of other states are sapped, and the foundations, as far as possible, undermined; intrigue is systematized and corruption introduced every where; foreign powers are irritated, soothed, and countervented, until they take the alarm; the Emperor, when appealed to or made aware of it, peremptorily discourages and openly disavows the course, of all but the outlines of which he is kept in ignorance by the ministry of the department, until too late; and he is at times borne along with the stream even in defiance of his own peremptory commands at the outset. The system assuredly is not that of the government, but it assuredly is that of the whole Russian nation.

With a full understanding of these points, on which we have

dwelt at considerable length, as the true basis of the system which eats like a cancer into the very frame of political society, we shall be enabled to comprehend the real position of foreign states with regard to Russia; where the aristocracy, eager for an oligarchical rule, and connected with the ministry on one hand and the army on the other, bear along with them the sovereign, more or less easily, but in despite of his personal character, feelings, and wishes.

The intrigues in the East, which are certainly in contradiction to the individual views of the Emperor, were then in any thing like their extent probably unknown to him, and to him alone, in the whole empire. The powers which would have been requisite to sustain them effectually could not be obtained without his consent; this appears to have been withheld; and the intrigues themselves, though carried on with the full concurrence of the ministers and the nobles, whose course is more hidden, though unchanged from that of former times, failed and fell away at the first breath of approaching contact.

Such is the clue to the recent explicit disavowal made by the Emperor Nicholas of the acts of his ministry, in answer to the spirited requisition of the British Foreign-Minister; and this likewise explains the previous declaration of Lord Palmerston in parliament, that there were governments that attempted every thing and disavowed every thing. The Emperor can but work with the means in his power; and from the general bias of the nation it must be confessed that if aggrandisement is no longer the principle of Russian policy, it is still its tendency.

In the question before us, too, one very material consideration appears to have been kept nearly out of sight; namely, the relations of Persia. In judging of the conduct of a power it is not enough to know that its own course has been prosperous at the expense of its neighbours, without also knowing how far these may have provoked the quarrel, and what is their general character.

Various statements as to the progress of the Russian dominion in the east have appeared before the public, and we select the following particulars as offering a clear outline of the proceedings; purposely rejecting such as bear, or seem to bear, a decided partizan character in narrating the transactions.

We begin with the earliest period of Russian encroachments, when the exertions made by Peter the Great to extend the commerce and influence of Russia in the East, brought that power into immediate contact with Persia. In pursuance of his scheme to open a trade with India, he sought every opportunity to mix in the affairs of the intervening nations. In 1717, Prince Bekevich was sent on an embassy to Khiva, and directed to seize the

gold mines which were supposed to be in that country; he was provided with a military force. This expedition completely failed, and the Prince and his men were cut to pieces.

In 1719, the descent of a body of Lesghees from the Caucasus on the Province of Shirvan, where they put to death all the merchants, amongst whom were 300 Russians; the inability of Sooltan Hoossein (besieged in his capital by the Affghans), to punish the offenders; and his repeated embassies sent to the court of Persia to implore the aid of Russia,—afforded Peter an opportunity to establish himself in the countries lying to the south of the Caucasus.

In 1722, he sent an army, ostensibly for the purpose of punishing the Lesghees, and entered the Persian territories, with professions of entire friendship for the Shah. In August of the same year, he took possession of the fortress of Derbend, the gate of the Persian provinces on the Caspian sea, and besieged Badkoo. He induced the Persian Envoy in his camp to sign a treaty, by which Persia ceded to Russia the provinces of Gilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad, with the town of Shamakhoo, as soon as it should be recovered from the Turks. On his return to Astrachan in the same year, he sent troops to occupy Gilan and ordered the siege of Badkoo to be prosecuted. The fall of this place, and the cessions made to him by the treaty of Ismael Beg, gave to Russia the whole coast of the Caspian, which belonged to Persia, and which it was an object of Peter's ambition to possess. Shah Tamasp, however, refused to ratify the treaty, and sent a force against the Russians, which, at least, prevented them from pursuing their advantages.

In 1727, Catherine the First concluded a treaty with the Porte at Constantinople, which fixed the boundaries of Russia, Turkey, and Persia, with the greatest precision, and gave to Russia all that had been ceded to her by the unratified treaty of Peter. In a few years afterwards, however, Mazanderan and Astrabad were restored to Persia, by a treaty concluded at Resht in Gilan.

This treaty was renewed in 1735, with Nadir Shah, who cultivated, by every means in his power, a good understanding with Russia, while engaged in expelling the Turks from their conquests in Persia.

Georgia, with other provinces south of the Caucasus, not in possession of Russia, had for a series of years been dependent on the crown of Persia; but the Wallee (as the Prince of Georgia was styled) and the other chiefs, availed themselves of the opportunities offered by the dissensions which weakened the empire of the Shahs, to rejoice in a temporary independence.

In the reign of the last Princes of the Suffoveeah dynasty, the

northern and western parts of Persia had been overrun by the Turks as far as Hamadan and Ardebil; and the Wallees of Georgia, with the chiefs of the neighbouring provinces, had submitted to the Ottoman Porte. Nadir Shah, by a succession of victories, drove the Turks from all the ancient northern possessions of the Sufloveeah Kings, in which were included Georgia, Imeretia, Mingrelia, Shirvan, Shekkee, Ganja, and Erivan. The places belonging to Persia, on the shores of the Caspian, so treacherously seized by the Czar, were recovered; and all her original dependencies on the side of the Caucasus once more acknowledged the authority of Persia. The ancient family of the Wallees of Georgia was raised to the dependent throne of that country, and Nadir, by dividing it into two kingdoms, weakened the power of its princes, and was enabled to reward the services of Heraclius, who had accompanied him to India, with one of the crowns. The other was given to his father, Tamaras, the representative of the family.

After the death of Nadir Shah, the kings of Georgia, harassed by continued attacks from the mountaineers, whom they were unable to controul, made a simultaneous application to Russia for assistance, which was granted. This, about 1752, may be considered the first step towards the separation of Georgia from Persia; Russia from this time pressed with persevering activity her intercourse with these Persian dependencies.

About eight years after this occurrence, Heraclius drove his father Tamaras from his kingdom, and united it to his own. In 1768, he was called upon by Russia to co-operate with General Todlevin, who invaded Turkey from Imeretia, and whom the Wallee joined. But he had not yet openly cast off his allegiance to Persia, nor had any formal engagements been contracted between him and the Russian government. Russia had, however, manifested her readiness to connect herself with Georgia; and the Princes of that country took advantage of the troubles which engaged Kerreem Khan, to prepare a safe renunciation of their connexion with Persia by more intimate intercourse with the Court of St. Petersburgh.

In 1781, a treaty with the Oss, or Ossetinians, a pagan tribe of the Caucasus, who commanded the defiles leading into Georgia, opened to Russia the passes to that country; and two years afterwards a treaty was concluded at Georgiefsk, between the Wallee and the Empress Catherine II., by which the former recognised the paramount sovereignty of Russia, for himself and his heirs; and the latter engaged to afford protection not only to the Wallee's present possessions, but to any he might hereafter acquire, and to guarantee the kingdom to his heirs for ever.

In 1785, General Potemkin carried to Teflis the ratification of this treaty, and constructed a causeway across the Caucasus. A pension of 60,000 silver roubles annually was granted to the King of Khartlee (the Wallee of Georgia), to maintain an army, and to defray such expenses as he should be called upon to make by the Russian commandant.

Georgia had therefore become a dependency of Russia, and had been received by that power under its protection, without any regard to the allegiance due by the Wallees to the sovereigns of Persia. Field-marshal Prince Potemkin and General Goodovich received unlimited authority to accept the submission of any nations that may desire to become subject to Russia; and the latter was informed, that the Khans of Badkoo and Derbend might be admitted vassals of the empress. Both these places were dependencies of Persia.

After the death of Kerreem Khan, 1779, it was not until Aga Mahommed Khan triumphed over all his antagonists, and cut off the last hopes of the royal family of the Zunds, that he found leisure to turn his attention to Georgia, and punish the revolt.

In 1795, he assembled a considerable army at Teheran, defeated Heraclius near Teflis, and entering that city before General Goodovich, who commanded the Russian troops of the Caucasus, could arrive to oppose him, committed horrible excesses.

The Empress Catharine II., shocked and irritated by the vengeance which had fallen on Georgia in consequence of its having transferred its allegiance to Russia, immediately declared war against Persia; in the following year, Count Zuboff marched upon Derbend early in the summer—took that fortress, and received the submission of Badkoo, Coobba, and Shirvan; wintered in Moghan, and had taken Anzelee, Lankeran, Ganja, and Saree, when Paul ascended the throne, and recalled the army.

Aga Mahommed Khan was at this time employed in Khorassan, and on hearing of Zuboff's successes, hastily returned to oppose him; not in the field, he openly declared, but by cutting off his supplies, harassing and obstructing his movements. The plan was sagaciously laid, but before he could reach the scene of action, the Russians had already abandoned almost all their conquests. He had only been a few days at Sheesha, when he was murdered by some of his menial domestics whom he had threatened to put to death; and the late Shah, who succeeded him (1798), was too much occupied in establishing his authority to be able to pursue the bold policy of his predecessor.

In the same year 1798 Heraclius died, in the eighty-fourth year of his age and fifty-second of his reign, and left his crown to his son, Goorgeen Khan, or the Wolf, a cruel and brutal prince.

In the year 1800 the Emperor Paul incorporated Georgia with the Russian empire, and in the year following Goorgeen died, and Paul was put to death. The Emperor Alexander on his accession confirmed his act, and in 1803 sent General Zizianov as governor and commander-in-chief into Georgia. In the same year Mingrelia submitted. In 1804 Zizianov took Ganja, and having been invited by Mahommed Khan Kajar, then governor of Erivan, to advance on that place under a promise that it should be delivered up, proceeded as far as the Three Churches, when he encountered the Persian army advancing. This was the first action in which the Russian and Persian armies had come in contact in a general action. The Persians were defeated. Zizianov then invested Erivan, which Mahommed Khan refused to surrender; but the Russian general was obliged to raise the siege from want of provisions, the desultory attacks of the Persians, and the sickness of his troops.

In 1805 Karabaugh voluntarily submitted to Russia.

The war was continued with various success till the year 1814, but Russia added little to her territorial acquisitions after the death of her first governor.

Such is the first portion of the outline we lay before our readers, and must pause to observe that the Georgians themselves, always in revolt against Persia, always assigned the dreadful tyranny they suffered under from her as the reason of their abhorrence of this power. We need not go into details; but from and including the time of Shah Abbas the Great there has been no question of this fact amongst historians, with the single exception of Kerreem's reign; and the incorporation of Georgia with Russia was avowedly in consequence of the expressed wishes of the former.

When we refer to the instances of horrible cruelty of which the immediate successors of Kerreem were guilty at home,* we can

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* To instance this, and show the insecurity of life and property we begin with the greatest of Persian sovereigns.

"When Abbas the Great was hunting in this valley, he met one morning, as the day dawned, an uncommon ugly man, at the sight of whom his horse started. Being nearly dismounted, and deeming it a bad omen, he called out in a rage to have his head struck off.

"Your crime said the king is your unlucky countenance, which is the first object I saw this morning, and which had nearly caused me to fall from my horse. Alas! said the man, by this reckoning, what term must I apply to your majesty's countenance, which was the first object my eyes met this morning, and which is to cause my death? The king smiled at the wit of the reply, ordered the man to be released, and gave him a present, instead of taking off his head."—*Malcolm's Anecdotes of Persia.*

Of Aga Mahommed Khan more particularly we enumerate a few cruelties.

"Mustapha Kauli Khan, his brother, he deprived of sight; and he inveigled the brave Jaffier Kauli Khan, another brother, by protestations of affection, and oaths of safety, to come only for one night to Teheran. But that night was fatal; the unsuspecting

scarcely wonder that the more distant provinces of the empire, through the tyranny and avarice of subordinate agents, were in a far worse state, and anxious for any change of condition and allegiance. This fact will serve as a clue to much that is otherwise unexplained.

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guest was despatched by assassins posted in a new palace, which he had gone to visit at the tyrant's desire. Yet with a mockery of piety or timidity of superstition, which it is hard to comprehend, he kept with the dead the oath he had violated to the living, by removing the corpse that very night beyond the city walls."—*Frazer's Hist. of Persia.*

"We cannot relate the brutal indignities, torments, and mutilations, which the victor inflicted upon his captive (rival), before death, in the year 1795, released him from his misery. Still less shall we dwell on the atrocities committed in the city of Kerman in revenge for the assistance rendered by its inhabitants to their legitimate prince. The place was depopulated; all the full-grown males were murdered or deprived of sight, and turned out to wander in helpless blindness. A horrid tribute of human eyes, amounting to a certain number of mauns, was exacted; and the women and children given as slaves to the soldiers."—*ibid.*

The following act of meanness is ludicrous:

"Riding out with some courtiers, a mendicant met the party, to whom the king, apparently struck with his distress, ordered large alms to be given. The example was of course followed by all, and the beggar obtained a very considerable sum. That night the sovereign's impatience betrayed his secret: "I have been cheated," said he to his minister: "that scoundrel of a mendicant whom you saw this morning, not only promised to return my own money, but to give me half of what he should receive through its means from others." Horsemen were instantly ordered in pursuit; but the fellow took care not to be caught."—*ibid.*

He seems always to have acted on this maxim, suppressing violence only for the sake of interest, and selling immunity to the worst criminals under sentence, to fill his own coffers.

Sir John Malcolm gives us the reason for the long prosperity of that able minister, Meerza Buzurg, as explained by himself.

"I never," said he, "accumulate money or property; I have a small inheritance in land, which has been in my family for centuries; this cannot, in accordance with usage, be confiscated; and as to everything else I spend it as I get it. This principle is known; and the king," he added, "often laughs, and says, 'I should not gain one piastre by the death and plunder of that extravagant fellow Meerza Buzurg.'"—*Malcolm*, v. i. p. 188.

And this was even in the moderate reign of the late Shah. Haji Ibrahim, too, the minister to whom he owed his crown, was blinded on suspicions, false as they afterwards proved.

Of Persian faith we give the following anecdote:

"The Persian ministers and governors are in the habit of using particular seals, which nullify the contents of their letters; they also use oaths in affirmation, which they consider they may safely break. Old Shaik Nessr, at Bushire, was accustomed to swear by the head of his father—generally considered one of the most sacred and inviolable oaths that can be offered. Now his father happened to have been a Sunni, and he was convinced there was not the least harm in heaping perjury by wholesale on his soul, which he believed was in hell already, and therefore could not be made worse. A great many years ago I had some business of consequence to transact with him, and he kept pouring out oath after oath by the head of his father. I asked him to swear by his own, and he refused, saying he thought it very wicked to do so. Not long after, in the course of the same business, he made use of his own head for an oath, wishing to secure my credence. I said coolly, now I trust you Shaik. It is of the utmost consequence therefore in transacting business with the Persian ministers, to know what the seals and what the oaths they use are exactly worth. I was lucky enough to be taught these secrets of Meerza Sheffee, and the Ameen ed dowlah, by my good friend Meerza Bozurg."—*Letter of Sir H. Jones.*

We now proceed to notice that the first connexion of England with Persia may be said to have commenced with the mission of Sir John Malcolm to Tehran in 1800; and the first fruits of the alliance were the commercial and political treaties concluded by him in 1801. The latter engaged Persia to attack the Affghans, who then threatened our possessions in India, and to exclude the French from the Gulf of Persia.

In 1805 the Shah, finding himself unable to cope with Russia, addressed a letter to Napoleon, requesting his assistance, and desiring to form an alliance. So little was at that time known of Persia in Europe, that the court of Paris were even ignorant whether the person who had addressed those letters was really entitled to the rank he assumed, and M. Jaubert was sent to Tehran to ascertain the condition of the country.

On the return of M. Jaubert in 1806, Meerza Reza was sent by the Persian government on an embassy to Napoleon, whom he accompanied to Tilsit, and with whom he concluded a treaty, ratified by the emperor in May, 1807.

In the same year Mahommed Nebbee Khan was sent on a mission to the British Government in India to claim assistance against Russia; this mission was unsuccessful, and Persia, losing all hope of support from her old ally, had no alternative but to throw herself into the arms of France.

The possessions of Great Britain in India had become so important, that it was believed her power in Europe might be affected by an attack on her eastern dominions; and Napoleon, therefore, turning his attention to Asia, gladly seized the opportunity which was afforded him to establish a connexion with Persia, which he justly considered a necessary preparatory step to his projected invasion of India. General Gardanne was charged with a mission to the court of the Shah; and the failure of the application which had been made to India for assistance, the readiness with which the French had entered on the alliance, and the promises which were made by the French ambassador, combined to secure to him a distinguished reception.

But the success which attended the mission of Gardanne forced the British government, here and in India, to take measures to counteract the views of France. Simultaneous missions, of great splendour, were sent to the court of Persia from England and India; no expense was spared, and no exertion considered too great to secure her alliance. The favourable reception of the mission of Sir Harford Jones in 1808, and the consequent expulsion of the French agents, laid the foundation of an alliance between the crowns of Great Britain and Persia, which was confirmed by a preliminary treaty in 1809.

We give a portion of this—

"Art. 3. His Majesty the King of Persia judges it necessary to declare that from the date of these preliminary articles every treaty or agreement he may have made with any one of the powers of Europe becomes null and void; and that he will not permit any European force whatever to pass through Persia, either towards India or towards the ports of that country.

"Art. 4. In case any European forces have invaded, or shall invade the territories of his Majesty the King of Persia, his Britannic Majesty will afford to his Majesty the King of Persia a force, or in lieu of it a subsidy with warlike ammunition, such as guns, muskets, &c., and officers to the amount that may be to the advantage of both parties for the expulsion of the force so invading; and the number of these forces, or the amount of the subsidy, ammunition, &c., shall be hereafter regulated in the definitive treaty. In case his Majesty the King of England should make peace with such European power, his Britannic Majesty shall use his utmost endeavours to negociate and procure a peace between his Persian Majesty and such power. But if, which God forbid, his Britannic Majesty's efforts for this purpose should fail of success, then the forces or subsidy, according to the amount mentioned in the definitive treaty, shall still continue in the service of the King of Persia as long as the said European force shall remain in the territories of his Persian Majesty, or until peace is concluded between his Persian Majesty and the said European power. And it is further agreed, that in case the dominions of his Britannic Majesty in India are attacked or invaded by the Affghans or any other power, his Majesty the King of Persia shall afford a force for the protection of the said dominions, according to the stipulations contained in the definitive treaty.

"Art. 5. If a detachment of British troops has arrived from India in the gulf of Persia, and by the consent of his Persian Majesty landed on the island of Karrack, or at any of the Persian ports, they shall not in any manner possess themselves of such places; and from the date of these preliminary articles the said detachment shall be at the disposal of his Majesty the King of Persia, except his Excellency the Governor-General of India judges such detachment necessary for the defence of India; in which case they shall be returned to India, and a subsidy in lieu of the personal services of these troops shall be settled in the definitive treaty.

"Art. 6. But if the said troops remain by the desire of his Majesty the King of Persia, either at Karrack or any other port in the gulf of Persia, they shall be treated by the governor there in the most friendly manner; and orders shall be given to all the governors of Farsistan that whatever quantity of provisions, &c. may be necessary shall, on being paid for, be furnished to the said troops at the fair prices of the day.

"Art. 7. In case war takes place between his Persian Majesty and the Affghans, his Majesty the King of Great Britain shall not take any part therein, unless it be at the desire of both parties, to afford his mediation for peace.

"Art. 8. It is acknowledged that the intent and meaning of these pre-

liminary articles are defensive. And it is likewise agreed that as long as these preliminary articles remain in force his Majesty the King of Persia shall not enter into any engagements inimical to his Britannic Majesty, or pregnant with injury or disadvantage to the British territories in India."

At that time there were two objects of importance to be effected at the court of Tehran,—the abrogation and dissolution of the alliance newly formed between France and Persia—and the prevention of further encroachments by Russia on the territories of Persia: both these objects were accomplished by offering Persia a subsidy, for which however the British minister had neither instructions nor authority.

In taking therefore this responsibility on himself he felt it his duty to word the terms of the subsidy as indefinitely as possible: nevertheless there was a secret understanding between the plenipotentiaries on both sides, that the subsidy should not exceed 160,000 tomans, or about 128,000*l.*; and this, as to the form and shape in which it was to be given or afforded, was left to the British government.*

In 1811, Sir Harford Jones returned to England, and the Persian ambassador, who had been sent to London with the ratification of the preliminary treaty, returned to Persia, accompanied by Sir Gore Ouseley in quality of ambassador extraordinary from the King of England. The subsidy payable to Persia, which had been fixed by Sir H. Jones on a smaller scale, was raised to 200,000 tomans annually. A definitive treaty was concluded on the basis of the preliminary engagements entered into by Sir H. Jones, and immense presents were lavished on the Shah and his courtiers, to keep alive the friendly feeling which had been excited.

In 1813, by the mediation of the British ambassador, a treaty of peace was concluded at Goolistan, by which Persia yielded to Russia all her acquisitions south of the Caucasus, and engaged to maintain no navy in the Caspian; while Russia became bound to aid the heir to the crown of Persia against all competitors. The terms of this treaty were extremely indefinite.

Sir Gore Ouseley returned home in 1814, leaving Mr. Morier in quality of minister plenipotentiary at the Persian court; and in the same year Mr. Ellis was sent on a special mission to modify the definitive treaty concluded by Sir Gore. Great Britain was by this document bound to pay to Persia a subsidy of 200,000

* A Letter on the Present State of British Interests and Affairs in Persia, addressed to the Most Noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, K.G., &c. &c. &c., by Harford Jones Brydges.

tomans annually; to maintain troops in the event of her being attacked by any power at war with England; and should she be attacked by any nation at peace with England, we engaged to use our mediation towards an amicable adjustment of their differences; should it fail, to pay the subsidy. Persia, on her side, engaged to obstruct any power seeking to pass through her country for the purpose of invading India. The treaty is exclusively defensive, as declared in the document.

Hitherto England and Russia had not come in contact at the court of Persia; but at the time of concluding the treaty of Goolistan, a hope had been held out, that through the good offices of England some of the countries ceded by the Shah might be restored by the emperor. An embassy was therefore sent to St. Petersburgh with the ratified treaty, and with instructions to press the Russian government to admit the good offices of England, and to fulfil the hopes raised by the Russian plenipotentiary and the British ambassador.

The good offices of Lord Cathcart and the solicitations of the Persian embassy were unable to procure from the emperor the retrocession of one foot of ground, but they obtained a promise that General Yermoloff, ambassador to Persia and governor-general of Georgia, would discuss the matter with the Persian ministers at Tehran. When General Yermoloff came, he would restore nothing; and thus all the acquisitions of Russia were permanently confirmed. An insidious proposition made by Russia to supply officers to discipline the Persian army, was rejected, and the chargé-d'affaires, whom the general left in Persia, was directed by the Shah to station himself at the court of Abbas Meerza. In the meantime our minister plenipotentiary had been recalled, and Mr. Willock, British chargé-d'affairs, was left to maintain the interests of his government; in opposition to the splendid mission of Russia backed by all the weight of the chief authority in Georgia and an army of 40,000 men.

Under these circumstances, it was obvious that Persia was not likely again to seek a war with a power, who, under the most unfavourable circumstances, had been able to seize and keep possession of her most fertile and valuable provinces; and also, that though we might have something to fear from her too ready and obsequious acquiescence in the views of Russia, there was nothing to dread from her desire to renew a contest in which she had already suffered so severely.

Russia seemed to have adopted this opinion, and to have made it her policy to push herself by imperceptible advances into the exercise of an habitual influence over the councils of the prince

royal. But the treaty of Goolistan had not defined the line of frontier so distinctly as to leave no room for cavil and dispute, and the appointment of commissioners to effect the final demarcation was delayed on various pretexts. When commissioners, therefore, were at length appointed, numberless disputes arose; and these gave rise to angry discussions, conducted on the one side with the bitterness of wounded pride, and, on the other, with the insolence of conscious power. Various lines of frontier were successively proposed by one party, and rejected by the other. Commissioners met and parted, without having advanced one step; agents were sent by the prince royal to Teflis, and instructions transmitted to the Russian chargé-d'affaires at Tabreez, without any progress being made towards the accomplishment of this object.

At length all appeared arranged, and a proposal made by the Russian chargé-d'affairs was accepted by the prince royal, who was charged with the affairs of the frontier. But the Russian agent had exceeded his instructions, and General Yermoloff refused to ratify the engagements which M. Mozarovitch had contracted. Once again a formal engagement was entered into by an agent of the prince royal at Teflis; but this the Shah refused to sanction.

In the summer of 1825 M. Mozarovitch came to the Shah's camp, for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain his majesty's ratification of the terms agreed upon between Futteh Allee Khan and General Yermoloff at Teflis; but his majesty distinctly refused his consent to the arrangement. In the autumn of the same year M. Mozarovitch left Persia; and the government of Georgia, acting on what they called the treaty of Futteh Allee Khan, though unratified, occupied with a military force the lands which would have become theirs had this treaty taken effect.

One of these portions of land was an uninhabited stripe called Gokchah, which borders on the lake of Gokchah or Sevan. To the remonstrance of the prince royal against the military occupation of this part of the Persian territory, General Yermoloff had replied, by admitting the justice of the prince's remarks, and concluded by offering to withdraw the detachment. Yet, after all this, Russia, on the strength of an unratified engagement, concluded by the agent of a deputed authority, took permanent possession of this ground and retains it. As soon as the occupation of Gokchah was known to the court of Tehran, an envoy was sent to Teflis to remonstrate, and to propose that the Russian detachment should be withdrawn until time should be given for an appeal to the emperor. But this was refused; and in answer to the letters which the Shah had written to the governor-general

of Georgia, he was informed that Gokchah would be given up by Russia if the lands of Kapan were immediately evacuated.

Kapan had been, from the conclusion of the peace, in possession of Persia; but within a few years a claim had been set up by Russia, and it remained one of those points upon which it would have been the duty of commissioners to decide. The claims of Persia were, at least, as well supported as those of Russia; and some of the Russian official maps had marked Kapan as belonging to Persia. It was, therefore, an obvious injustice to seize an undisputed possession of Persia, and demand, as the price of its evacuation, the abandonment of claims, probably just, to another portion of territory.

At this time (Dec. 1825) the death of the Emperor Alexander was announced, and the discussions suspended; but as soon as the power of Nicholas was established, Persia prepared to send an embassy to St. Petersburgh, to congratulate the new emperor on his succession, and to conclude with him the definitive settlement of the frontier. Before arrangements could be made, it was announced that Prince Menzikoff was on his way to remove the causes of difference between the governments of Persia and Georgia.

The court of Tehran had begun to believe that Russia was firm in her purpose to act with a total disregard to justice. All recent representations had been treated with neglect, or replied to in an arrogant and insulting tone by the government of Georgia. Opprobrious terms had been applied to the prince royal, in letters to his servants, and everything seemed to indicate a determination on the part of General Yermoloff to drive Persia to extremity. At the same time it was whispered that the tranquillity of the Russian empire had been disturbed, that a civil war was carried on in St. Petersburgh, and that the tribes of the Caucasus were already in arms to assert their independence.

It was known that the misrule of the Russian authorities in Georgia, and their wanton interference with the religious prejudices of their Mahommedan subjects, had produced a feeling of serious discontent. Proposals had even been made to Persia by the heads of the tribes and chiefs of districts to co-operate with her in a war against Russia. Letters had been written by the Mohammedan population of all the Russian provinces bordering on Persia, to the head of their religion, imploring his interference in their behalf; and he had come from the sanctuary of Kerbela, expressly to urge the Shah to take up arms in defence of his insulted religion. The ecclesiastics of Persia joined their leader, and the mosques were filled with persons of all classes, lending a willing ear to the inflammatory ora-

tions of their Moollahs, while the Shah was threatened with the curses of the faithful, and even with everlasting perdition, if he failed to take up arms in the holy cause.

In the midst of this ferment, Prince Menzikoff arrived in the royal camp. He was treated with honour, and even with distinction; and a calm and temperate negotiation was opened, with a sincere desire on the part of the Shah to see it terminate in an amicable adjustment of all the matters in dispute. Sanguine hopes were entertained that everything would be satisfactorily arranged; and if there were some who, for private ends, wished to hurry Persia into a war, there were other and the most influential of her councillors who anxiously desired to avoid it. The king himself was of this number; though he had been induced to give a solemn pledge to the Moollahs that if Gokchah was not restored, he would agree to make war upon Russia. But, in answer to all demands for the evacuation of Gokchah, the Russian envoy replied, that he had no instructions regarding it, and was not empowered to agree to its evacuation. It was proposed that it should remain unoccupied by either party, until a reference could be made to the emperor. This he was equally unable to comply with; and he put an end to the discussion by repeating that his instructions extended to nothing beyond some trifling modification of the unratified treaty of Futteh Allee Khan.

Those who had been clamorous for war now called upon the Shah to redeem his pledge or forfeit his hopes of heaven. The Mahommedans of some of the Russian provinces were already in arms, and even the Christians of at least one of these had made overtures to Persia. The troops had been excited to enthusiasm by the Moollahs, and the war was commenced. Sir H. Jones states:—

"As far as I know, there might have been faults on both sides in causing this affray; but the events of the war were most unhappy for Persia: and to me it appears surprising that our influence with the Shah should in so short a time have fallen so very low, as to render our minister not able to prevail on the Shah to avoid so ill judged a contest; or even before engaging, not to accept, if it was offered, our mediation to accommodate matters. Such mediation, I conceive, we are fully authorized to offer under a clause of the fourth article of the preliminary treaty of 1809."—p. 29.

Even after the forces marched to the frontier, had Prince Menzikoff been empowered to evacuate Gokchah, they would still have been countermanded, and the war would not have taken place.

It commenced suddenly, and on the part of the Persians: they massacred all the Russian detachments and garrisons that could

be overpowered. The Prince-royal, in July 1826, took the field with an army of 40,000 men, about 12,000 of whom were regulars, together with a few companies of foot-artillery. The Muscovite troops on the south of the Caucasus were estimated at the same amount, including 6000 Cossacks. The opening of the campaign was favourable to Persia, and Gokchah, Balikloo, and Aberan were recovered.

But the hopes thus awakened were speedily dissipated. On the 14th September, Mohammed Meerza, son of Abbas, sustained a repulse at Shamkora, and, on the 25th of the same month the prince himself, having rashly engaged Paskewitch in open field near Elizabethpol, was defeated with the loss of 1,200 men. He fled, and his army dispersed after plundering his own camp.

By great exertion another army was collected, with which, however, little was done; and during the winter several ineffectual attempts were made to accommodate matters by British mediation. The war recommenced in the spring; Erivan was invested by General Benkendorff, who however, raised the siege on the approach of the Shah towards Khoi; but the prince sustained a check before Abbasabad, and the surrender of that town, by treachery, soon followed.

The defeat of 4000 Russian infantry and 2000 cavalry, with twenty field-pieces, at Aberan, in August 1827, again encouraged the hopes of Abbas; but the advance of Paskewitch, with strong reinforcements and a battering train, put an end to the delusion. Prince Eristov entered Tabreez on the 16th October, and Erivan was taken on the 19th. In January 1828, the king accepted once more the aid of the British minister at his court to procure peace; which the enemy did not decline. The terms proposed by the latter were humiliating enough; and the ineffectual remonstrances and reluctance of the Shah and his ministers protracted the negotiations until the 21st February 1828, when a treaty was signed at Turkmanchai.

By the first article the treaty of Goolistan was annulled for a new arrangement. By the third, Persia ceded the Khanats of Erivan and Nakshivan. By the fourth the boundary line was drawn from that of the Ottoman States, passing over the summit of the Lesser Ararat, and down the lower Karasu to the Aras; then proceeding, in the bed of that river, to Abbasabad and Yedibouloob; traversing the plain of Mogan to Adina Bazaar, ascending the current of that name to its source, and thence running along the west of the Elborz Mountains to the source of the Ashtara, which it follows to the sea; thus ceding the greater part of Talish to Russia, and including all such islands of the Caspian as fall within its direction. No ships of war, except Russian,

were allowed on the Caspian Sea. The sixth article stipulates for the payment of ten crores (500,000 each) of tomans by Persia, as indemnification for the expenses of the war: and a variety of provisions for commerce, the government of the ceded provinces, and the management of the migratory population, with other precautionary clauses, follow and conclude the treaty.

On this treaty Sir H. Jones very justly observes,

"With a British ambassador on the spot, Persia seems to have been delivered bound hand and foot, to the court of St. Petersburgh. There is one clause, which as a commercial and naval nation, we never ought to have allowed to be extorted from Persia. 'No ships of war except Russian to be allowed on the Caspian Sea.' Our justification for such interference might have been firmly based on the concluding sentence of the eighth article of the preliminary treaty.

"'And it is likewise agreed, that as long as these preliminary articles remain in force, his majesty the King of Persia shall not enter into any engagement inimical to his Britannic Majesty, or pregnant with injury or disadvantage to the British territories in India.'"—p. 52.

The moderation and even the justice of the new Emperor were soon called upon for their display, or else the catastrophe which occurred at Tehran in February 1829 might have furnished an excuse for further exactions. In that month, Mr. Grybyadoff, the Russian envoy at the court of the Shah, and forty-four individuals belonging to his suite, fell victims to the popular phrenzy excited by the treaty at which the nation was greatly indignant. The Russian party were massacred at the official dwelling. The Shah, equally shocked and alarmed at an outrage he could not prevent, despatched a mission charged with explanations to the court of St. Petersburgh, which was graciously received, the provocation admitted by the Emperor, and harmony has since been preserved.

This has been chiefly owing to the able and moderate management of Prince Dolgorouki in the first instance, who was sent to Persia to arrange for the above mentioned act of violence, and whose conduct entirely changed the Persian feeling favourably for Russia. General Bezac his successor acted for a short time, as consul, previous to the arrival of Count Simonitch, the present minister.

We must now turn back to observe that after the conclusion of peace between Persia and Russia by the treaty of Goolistan in 1814, the British government justly felt that the integrity of the Persian dominions would be best and most effectually secured by the preservation of amicable relations with Russia; since that period, everything which could be viewed in the light of a competition for ascendancy in the councils of the Shah appears to

have been avoided. We seem to have come to some tacit understanding with Russia on this subject,—to have made it our study to avoid coming in collision with her in Asia, and to prevent, if possible, any subjects of discussion between the governments from being permitted to arise out of the proceedings at the court of Tehran; in short, to have considered Persia as neutral ground.

This was, perhaps, the most obvious policy which could have been pursued; and, so long as it could be preserved, and was faithfully adhered to, by both the courts and by their servants, was perhaps as well calculated as any other to answer our purpose, while it had the obvious advantage of being liberal, fair, and just. But it had also the disadvantage of being most favourable to the party who should observe it with least exactness; and it is, therefore, important to inquire, whether Russia or England is most likely to be led by circumstances, or by the tone of her general policy and the manner in which she conducts her relations with Persia, to press her influence, and attempt an appropriation of the neutral ground, which we have supposed to be considered such by mutual agreement.

We must notice however that this policy, the result of necessity, and arising out of the recent events, though perfectly adapted for the time when it was resorted to, by no means necessitated an adherence to it when circumstances were materially altered. It will be observed that the 4th article of the English Treaty in 1809 specified a subsidy to Persia in the case of an invasion. Assuredly Prince Abbas Meerza relied strongly upon this, and without it would never have engaged in the contest he provoked, we are bound in justice to say, and we say it on good authority, wantonly and in defiance of the feelings of the Persian government and king. But though Persia had fairly executed all her share of the Treaty in question, the English minister when called upon to fulfil this condition hesitated, hung back, negociated, and delayed under every possible pretext, while he could not deny the faith or the claim of Persia. It was clear however to all the parties that Mr. Canning only sought a means of escaping the fulfilment of the stipulations. He was hard pressed by the reluctance to engaging in a war with Russia, represented as too probable by the Minister of that power at the British Court, and by the dexterity of a first-rate female diplomatist, to whom indeed the management of the matter was fairly confided by the Russian Court; and whose influence was fatally effective in this and the Turkish questions. In affecting to adhere simply to the policy of his predecessors, Mr. Canning forgot the immense difference and disgrace of refusing the fulfilment only at the time when, and because, the need was urgent. He could not foresee

that Persia must become, if further humbled, the tool of Russia against the East; if he had, no earthly power would have balanced against his duty. He did not even perceive that the crisis to Persia had arrived; and contented himself with a double sacrifice to vanity, in assuming to arbitrate against a Sovereign Prince, and hearing his praises resounded by the lips of successful beauty.

The avarice of the Shah, Futteh Allee, had left the whole burthen of the war upon the shoulders of the Prince and the province of Azerbijan; the Shah had yet a strong hankering for the subsidy, on receipt of which he would certainly have entered into the contest; but Mr. Canning decided that the casus fœderis was not clearly established. Sir H. Jones is most certainly mistaken in referring this decision to love of money in the British Minister. He had not the free command of it at the time, it is true, but Mr. Canning was above mercenary considerations. Not so the late Shah. Sir Harford inform us,

"In his difficulty, the Monarch of Persia applied to the late Sir John Macdonald, who proposed to purchase the erasure of those two articles from the treaty which bound England to pay the subsidy. Negociations for this purpose were opened, which terminated in the Prince receiving 200,000 tomans, and a promise (*Sponsio*) on the part of the Envoy to represent the case favourably to the home authorities, in the hope of obtaining an additional sum. Remember the treaty of subsidy between England and Persia was signed by a gentleman with power from the Crown, was ratified by the Crown, was, it is presumed, inserted in the body of the definitive treaty, and was under the authority of the Crown augmented from tomans 160,000 to 200,000. It was virtually annulled by a gentleman only accredited as Envoy from the Governor-General.

"The very attempt to purchase the erasure of the two articles in the treaty of subsidy evinces, that Mr. Canning did not place much confidence in his decision of the casus fœderis; for if he could have proved that decision would hold water, there was no occasion to throw away 200,000 tomans; and if he could not prove that, I must be permitted to think the whole transaction was *dishonourable and unjust*."

We have never heard of a different opinion being entertained by any one not interested in the transaction.

From the time of this sacrifice of our duties and our honour it cannot be supposed that England has ever retained much influence in the councils of Persia, in spite of the efforts of our Envoys to that power. The fault then is our own alone; and it is the narrow policy of money-matters that has induced England to play the game of Russia.

But, to return: there can be no question that the general policy of the latter power, from the days of Peter the First, uniformly pointed to the extension of her frontier on the side of Persia, and

more particularly to the acquisition of the coast of the Caspian Sea. It is difficult to imagine a stronger or better marked boundary than that which formed the frontier between Russia and Persia. The Black Sea on one hand, and the Caspian on the other, connected by the chain of the Caucasus, seem to have been designed by nature for the limits of some powerful nation against some great power. The views which induced Peter to pass this barrier, and establish himself beyond it, must have had some ultimate object. He however restored it to Persia.

Catherine long after took Georgia under her protection, and directed Potemkin to receive the submission of any nation which might be inclined to offer it. General Goodovich was instructed to receive the allegiance of two Persian towns; Zuboff was sent into Persia to seize the provinces adjacent to Georgia, as a retaliation for the attack on Teflis; and Russia became bound to protect not only the present possessions of the Wallee, but also any he might hereafter acquire. This was but pursuing the policy of Peter, and following the same views, without the same due sense of its extravagance correcting the ambition.

When General Yermoloff proposed to supply Russian officers to discipline the Persian troops at the cost of his government,—when missions were subsequently sent to Khiva and to Bokhara, and when Persia was bound to maintain no navy on the Caspian, which amounted to a total abandonment of that sea to the power of Russia,—it was but a steady pursuit of the same purpose.

But at a more recent period, Russia pressed with warmth the establishment of a commercial agent at Resht in Gilan, a province notoriously ill-affected to Persia, and General Yermoloff pushed the Russian troops beyond the line of frontier defined by the treaty; but the cabinet of St. Petersburgh, having now altered its views of aggression, sent to its governor in Georgia repeated and positive instructions to conciliate Persia, and to make no exertion to obtain a paramount influence in her councils, or to press her to a rupture with Russia. It is plain that these orders have been ill attended to, and we lose the security which we should otherwise have derived from a confidence in the moderation of the Russian government through the ambitious zeal of its agents.

England, on the other hand, comes in no way in collision with Persia. Her trade with that country is established on well-defined grounds of reciprocal advantage. Her political connexion with Persia is confined to watching over her interests, and aiding her in her difficulties. She has no frontier to cause dissensions, and no objects opposed to the interests of Persia to

pursue. But there is a strong and urgent demand upon her to maintain the integrity of Persia, as the best security she can have for the tranquillity of her Indian empire,—and every attempt which Russia may make to trench upon the power of Persia must be considered a step towards bringing her in collision with England in Asia, and towards loosening our hold on our Eastern possessions.

The question then is, How far has Persia been trenched upon by Russia? and, How does the Russian influence there endanger the possessions of England? It must be obvious that the second point can only be answered with direct reference to the first; i. e. by answering this: and that a wide distinction is to be made in the senses of the first. A large portion of Persia has been torn from her rule, and united to the Russian dominion. There are many different narratives of Russian progress in the East; and in proportion to the lawlessness they charge upon the conduct of that power, follows the conviction that it must be felt and resented, though not revenged, by the suffering party. Nations, as a late eminent statesman well observed, have no political gratitude; but they certainly have a political resentment; and anything that tends to render their power less great or imposing would wash out all other recollections. If such is the principle of nature, and we suppose this cannot be questioned, it must be the case in Persia. The Persians of the north care little, generally, for the English beyond any advantages reaped from the English trade: the reason is that they know little of them otherwise, and have nothing to fear from them. But they do know the Russians, for they have been conquered by them, and fear them. No one loves what he fears. It is unquestionable that Russia is not popular in the north and north-west of Persia; and a proof of it is, that her trade there is lessening, while that of Britain is increasing at its expense. It having been discovered in those provinces that the Russian goods are scarcely cheaper than the English, and not so durable.

If then Russia trenches upon Persian power by privation, her influence is lessened by the act, and her trade suffers, and has suffered, diminution. The only other sense of the term is that of swaying Persia, and this again must be divided into two points; the Nation and the King. We have shown that the former are not, and cannot be, favourable in the north, or they would not reject the trade for that of England. It is clear also that the sea-coast, to which Russia has little nominal access even, is decidedly favourable to the English; for Farsistan and the other provinces repeatedly demanded their succour against the king, and

were in insurrection, before the English expedition proceeded to Karrack.

But the power and influence of Russia are great with the court. With a part of it they undoubtedly are, and this the portion attached to the present king, with whom they are all-powerful. But admitting to the utmost that for their own sake alone they persuaded that weak prince to undertake the expedition to Herat, and this we utterly deny; (see No. 43, Art. *Russian position and policy*, pp. 205, 212—13;) independent of the gallant resistance opposed by the fierce, abhorrent scorn of the Affghans for the Persians, which no one will doubt; even with a population of not less than 12,000 of the latter nation resident in Cabul, what did the assailing hosts effect? That the talents of Lieutenant Pottinger so aided the defence is only admitting the worthlessness of the besiegers: and these men themselves were starving—limited to the scantiest supplies, without pay for days together, and always without arrears. The finance department is worthless there also. But what, more than all these causes, produced the failure, and even these drawbacks on the possibility of success? The king found that his nobles, both in the camp and at home, were decidedly against the war, and, had it been prosecuted, would have flown into open rebellion in the latter, as they were in actual insubordination in the former.

The north-east of Persia, where, and where alone, the Russians from the Central-Asiatic trade were favoured by the inhabitants, is now left to judge, as so barbarous a race must judge, of the power of Russia by the failure of her reputed schemes: now every writer and traveller in the East knows success to be there, as indeed everywhere, the chief measure of merit.

Of the king we shall speak presently; but must observe that the power of Persia has been greatly overrated, as Mr. Frazer, no incompetent witness, so justly observes. Without roads, often without rivers, but amply supplied with mountainous defiles and barren wastes, the true strength of Persia consists in her formidable irregular cavalry, and her chief treasures may probably turn out to be her mines. Some provinces are fertile, but generally, we might almost say universally, communications are difficult throughout the country; and hence with a variety of conflicting interests, and no one real bond of union, Persia has constantly found ample work for her own sovereign, and never been retainable by an invader. Her peasantry too are happy, much more so than that of Poland or Russia; therefore not so easily persuaded to turn marauders. It is then only when the Russian finances shall be flourishing, and the Persian, an even more hopeless case, tolerably supplied and tolerably managed—and this is

a very bold hypothesis—that a combined army of Persian horse and Russian foot and regular cavalry can make any impression upon neighbouring countries and fortresses.

Persia, as we anticipated in our last view of the subject, has really solicited the Russian emperor's intervention: and we have reason to believe that M. Franchini's mission has for its principal object the internal pacification of Persia; as well as the intention to hold her as a counterpoise to Turkey and a check upon her movements: such being the condition of the assistance to be now afforded.

Thus then the influence of Russia may be great for a time, and with the prince; but it cannot be lasting with the people. If Russia, as we have stated, as facts show, and as she herself well knows, is disliked and feared in Persia, what formidable danger is to be expected from her influence? She who has confessed to the Shah that she had no money to support his claim to the throne; and whose offer of a military force for this object was declined, by preference for English aid, on the part of the Persians themselves.

Whom then have the latter, and England herself, to thank for the paramount influence of Russia in that country? Undoubtedly the refusal of Mr. Canning in the first instance to observe the stipulations in existence; and secondly the act of his ministerial tail, who by the battle of Navarino procured, not one, but a series of, "untoward" events for Britain, for Turkey, and for Persia also. That battle gave Varna to Russia; and Varna purchased the Balkan and Constantinople. The treaty that excluded armed English vessels from the Black Sea was the consequence; and Persia, thus excluded from our naval support, was thrown into the arms of Russia without reservation; and the only remedy left, as discovered by the sagacity of certain Radical sages, was, to have undertaken a war in order to prevent one!

Russia, however, has effectually broken the Persian power, never very formidable for any length of time; and constantly divided against itself. She would undoubtedly be glad to push her trade by that quarter into Central Asia, but if she creates commotions in the latter she destroys the chances of commerce. If Persia could conquer any or all of those countries, would Russia obtain them? and if she did, could she hold them? The fancies of tens of thousands of her troops perambulating the wilds of Tatary were doubtless very interesting, to the readers of Tatarian tales at least. But, if Russia was so anxious and so able, as asserted, to assist Persia in this very shape, how came it she sent no force there? or, if she did, what became of them? Surely the sands have not swallowed them all: and if they have, Great Britain has in them

the best of allies, one who needs no subsidy: in this case too we cannot wonder that the far-seeing economy of Lord William Bentinck was, as asserted, the first to find them out.

If we are determined to attribute a Machiavelian policy to Nicholas, we might at least give him credit for not cutting his own throat with it; diffusing trade by the gentle medium of the bayonet, marching armies to lose them after the fashion of Cambyses in the desarts, and conquering impracticable countries by proxy; and this too on the faith of Persia! Would it not be more reasonable to suppose that he wished to divert her attention from his own acquisitions, by finding her a rope of sand in the East wherewith to bind a new empire? Surely no conquest of the Kuzzilbash could serve him half so effectually in the shape of injury to our Indian dominions, as this rumour of war, since it has had the disastrous result of rousing the good Lord Auckland into permanent action of any kind.

But the irregularity of Asiatic nations had long since compelled the adoption of a suitable policy to ensure, so far as practicable, security for kingdoms, by leaving a waste between them: and such, it is our own opinion, is the object of Nicholas in the present case, by rendering Persia helpless and chaotic, and incapable of receiving assistance; a barrier between Russia and Hindostan. And we do not hesitate to say that he has more to dread from the power of England in that quarter than she from him.

Though Russia has pushed her conquests eastward below the parallel of the southern coast of the Black Sea in order to secure it as a lake, enlocked within her own dominions, and without an armed competitor on its waters: and though she has followed nearly the same course with the Caspian, can we wonder at her dread of British enterprize and her prohibitory duties, daily increasing, when we notice the loss her commerce has sustained from British competition.

Her annual exports of woollen goods across the Caspian to Persia rose between 1824 and 1829 from 150,000 to near a 1,000,000 roubles; and since then they have fallen down to 140,000 roubles yearly. The sale of the same to the Nomade tribes rose from 700,000 roubles in 1824 gradually to 3,000,000 roubles; they had sunk in 1834 to 2,200,000 roubles.

Of silk goods across the Caspian she now disposes only to the amount of 50,000 roubles, and by Georgia considerably less. The Turcomans and Khirghis, who in 1828 bought the sum of 700,000 roubles now have sunk down below 100,000 roubles.

The linen purchased by the hordes formerly amounted from 250,000 roubles to 400,000 roubles; it is now 100,000 roubles.

Iron sent across the Caspian in the above interval increased

from 70,000 poods, to 258,000 poods in 1829, and 276,000 poods in 1830: in 1834 it had declined to 244,000 poods. Iron-ware by the same route amounted to 287,000 roubles in 1829; it is now reduced to one-half.

To take the trade comparatively:

Russia in 1833-4 exported to all Asia goods to the amount of 17,000,000 roubles or 2,750,000*l.* sterling—1,000,000 of which was for woollens.

Great Britain in 1832 exported to Asia, exclusive of China, goods to the amount of 3,700,000*l.*—one-half of which was woollens.

Russian goods thus have sunk before the English; and their price is raised in the hands of the Armenians, who take long credit and charge a high per centage; costing from 50 to 80 per cent. more at Teflis than at Novogorod.

The repeal in 1829 of the ukase of 1821 giving the fur trade to the Georgians has been most injurious, according to the statement of Professor Eichwald; and there, as well as in Persia and Circassia, in spite of all obstacles, British competition has left little for Russia, who has been almost driven out of the markets.

With such statistical facts before us, we have surely nothing to fear for our commerce—but on the contrary we can easily understand that the steady efforts at prohibition on the part of Russia arise from her dread of ourselves. We know from every person who is acquainted with the subject the indefatigable activity of the Russian trade in Tatary and Asia; but, if the facts above cited prove the superior demand for English goods, wherever they are known and obtainable, can we doubt of these commanding every market there also, and forcing their way despite the utmost vigilance of Nicholas even were those countries as entirely at his command, and as fully regulated, as the European ports in the time of Napoleon's vain prohibitory decrees.

Having shown that active hostilities need be little apprehended, and commercial competition still less so, at the hands of Russia as to Persia; we now proceed to examine, so far as our means allow us, the mysterious veil which it has pleased the wisdom of the present Governor-General of India to wrap round the already complicated position and polity of that country.

Although well assured from every creditable quarter, thanks to the vigilant jealousy of foreign designs and encroachments manifested by the press of Great Britain, which has thrown light more or less upon almost every dirty hole and corner of ambitious intrigue abroad; although fully apprized through their medium of the fact, which no well-informed person ever could doubt, of the existence of Russian agents and spies throughout the East, the

public, who had been thoroughly re-assured, at least we hope so, by the positive declarations of the British Minister for Foreign Affairs in his place in parliament, that no danger was threatened, no sinister designs entertained by the Colossus of the North against Great Britain or British possessions; the public we say were struck aghast by the appearance of an official document issued by our eastern potentate; this was not indeed of "tremendous brevity" like the epistle of the far-famed Haroun Al-Raschid,* but its length was by no means less tremendous, nor was it less to be reverenced and implicitly believed as coming from a British "Commander of the Faithful," a worthy rival of the great hero of Arabian Nights Entertainments. In this interesting publication, (we do not, as our readers might suppose, mean the Arabian Nights) if there is not quite as much of entertainment to repay the perusal, there is at least an equal turn for the marvellous, as wild a fancy, and combinations as unexpected and strange as ever could be united in the "Thousand and One" Stories, which it was written, we presume, to supersede. The characters also are nearly the same, though naturally somewhat the worse from lapse of time. We recognize in it, grown somewhat elderly, the still resolute and very sleepy sultan; the gaping restlessness and anxious curiosity of the "dear sister" Dinarzade; together with the eternal narrative and fertile memory, or perhaps imagination, of the gentle Scheherazade, no way improved by advanced age, but combining all sorts of impossibilities with much of the same charm, and with nearly the same effect, of setting every True Believer to prayers. This later composition boasts, however, very material advantages over its prototype; namely in the writer's being known, and in his preservation of the unities: the death-doing, half-awake Sultan Schariar, the early-rising, tale-listening Dinarzade, and the unending babble of her doom-expecting sister, who seeks to avert the danger by an endless dreamy narrative, being all combined and identified with the caliph who loves rambling, and in the dark; and all meeting in the person of the ingenious author. Greatly as we applaud this unexpected effort of a single imagination which gives us hopes that India, the source of the Arabian narratives, may yet afford us another and another pleasing supply, for our nurseries, let us not be suspected from the above expression of alluding irreverently to the rambles of this great president of the Oriental Pickwick Club,

* "He dictated an epistle of tremendous brevity."—(*Gibbon*).

"Haroun Al-Raschid, Commander of the Faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman Dog.

"I have read thy letter, oh! son of female infidelity; thou shalt behold, not read, my answer."

though we must confess ourselves at a loss for the reason;—whether, like the Prince Zayn Alasnam, dissatisfied with the gold, silver, and diamond forms in his treasury, he seeks a ninth statue, of "defined and moderate" glory; or expects, like the Full Moon of Beder, to be rewarded with a princess rising out of the Persian Gulf at Karrack; or as Camaralzamaun, in his quality of the Moon of the Age, is borne in his sleep by Jin or meddling Spirit towards the couch of some Badoura in China itself; since in either capacity of this three-fold Hecate his mystic threat is simply,

> "In a sieve I'll thither sail,
> And, like a rat without a tail,
> I'll do, I'll do, I'll do,"

ignorant as we are of his object, and unsuspicious of the course of his arrow-flight, we trust his lordship's toils may be rewarded by some Peri Banou, with the very little* man, three feet high, and with a beard of thirty, for his lordship, since this is a proof of wisdom. At any rate we cherish a hope that the "unknown Indian" who mounted his lordship on his wooden hobby to fly from the plains of Iran towards Kashgar, may have guarded him also from an unlimited use of the "mysterious Peg" that has borne him so high above the clouds. We trust, by the fortunate chance of another peg behind the ear, that that worthy nobleman may come down some time or other, even if equally in the dark with his prototype, to plain earth; and be found after all his "roaming, in his bower back again," though not exactly "with roses in his hair." We shall rejoice to let him off with a simple history, if we can get it, of his meeting with that "one-eyed Calender, the son of a king," our trust-worthy ally, Runjeet.

From this pleasing range of imagination we wish not to be awakened till we discover his lordship's power, like his Arabian predecessor's, to be equal to marching armies, dethroning sovereigns, and setting up slaves in their stead, without expense to his admirers at home. We cannot imagine all the recent marvels to be of his own conjuring; for it would require strong evidence to convict his lordship of a practice so satisfactorily negatived by the whole tenure of his life, and so completely refuted by his famed proclamations. But we joy to think how the great soul of his lordship's immediate predecessor must rejoice at the fruit so lavishly borne by "the rupee-tree" after the ample pruning he bestowed on every branch of it. The one talent he possessed and hid so carefully in the earth, or in the company's pocket, has fructified (all credit to Mr. Poulett Thomson) into ten. The seeds of five or ten thousand pounds, refused to Dost Mahommed of

* The Persian periphrasis for a great fool.

Cabul when he was our friend, and the foe of Persia and Russia, have brought forth a goodly produce in the soil where they were kept, and to the amount of as many millions sterling in outlay for the present expedition against Persia.

Nor is it perhaps any compensation to Great Britain that this expenditure is incurred in dethroning a prince because his neighbour was attacked by a stranger. The folly of the Shah of Persia towards Kamram now, does not surely affect the birth-rights of Soojah fifty years ago. It has taken thirty years for a governor-general to discover these, from which it may be presumed they were somewhat recondite in the first instance. Soojah was sent to Jericho, and has certainly tarried there "till his beard was grown;" long enough, it may be, to atone the loss of the other "little man;" and this perhaps is why Lord Auckland is so firmly his friend, and may probably intend him to reign by Divine Right, since he has none upon earth.

With such fancies as these it is impossible to contend seriously; and his lordship, whose personal goodness of heart and amiability are unquestionable, seems disposed to joke. In the first place he declares that

"Every consideration of policy and justice warranted us in espousing the cause of Schah Sooja-ool-Moolk, whose popularity throughout Afghanistan had been proved to his lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities. Having arrived at this determination, the governor-general was further of opinion that it was just and proper, no less from the position of Maharaja Runjeet Singh, than from his undeviating friendship towards the British Government, that his highness should have the offer of becoming a party to the contemplated operations."

In the second place we learn that

"A guaranteed independence will, upon favourable conditions, be rendered to the Ameers of Sinde; and the integrity of Herat, in the possession of its present ruler, will be fully respected: whilst by the measures completed or in progress it may reasonably be hoped that the general freedom and security of commerce will be promoted; that the name and just influence of the British government will gain their proper footing among the nations of Central Asia; that tranquillity will be established upon the most important frontier of India, and that a lasting barrier will be raised against hostile intrigue and encroachment. His majesty Schah Sooja-ool-Moolk will enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference and factious opposition by a British army. The governor-general confidently hopes that the Schah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents, and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn. The governor-general has been led to these measures by the duty which is imposed upon him of providing for the security of the British crown."

The first statement can never be made in earnest; who are these unknown "best authorities?" Lieutenant Burnes cannot be one, for he has said the precise reverse; and the fact itself seems to have been unsuspected in Cabul, and by those who knew it well. The amiable and talented Soojah, the weakest of mankind, had violated the sanctity of a harem; the worst offence to the decencies of life and the security of property, known in the East. He was driven from a throne he had won by the arms and talents of his vizier, and by the treachery of a hostile general to his opponent. How did he behave to the former?

We must however admit that the whole population is attached to him, since the governor-general says so; and undoubtedly the attachment must be very strong and deep-rooted that never showed itself anywhere: that had never seen his face for thirty years, if at all, and had never desired to see it again: that had steadily resisted, when he tried to return, all opportunities to behold anything of him but his back; while his own soldiers showed him theirs before going into battle. This is not the usual mode of evincing affection, at least in Europe: but the governor-general, as the first discoverer, has the full right to his invention, and he uses it by enforcing the return of Soojah the Desired with a force of 35,000 bayonets. We remember in Lord Wellington's time that this first captain of Europe refused to enter France leading the French Princes, though Louis le Desiré had a claim on the affections of the country, through the long ages of his ancestors' reign. The precedent, we submit, is not too low for Lord Auckland to follow.

We see in fact three arguments for this espousal of Soojah's cause, but neither of them openly avowed by the proclamation. First, that having no claim to the Musnud, he may become the tool of Great Britain, like the subservient King of Oude. Second, that he may be more easily dethroned than an abler man, whenever it shall please any resident at his court to seize the crown for England. The third and strongest point in his favour is, that if Soojah has no claim on the British government, he has none anywhere else, even from his subjects, from whom he has so often fled. The Tories boast as their leader the hero of a hundred fights. The Whig government in India selects for theirs the hero of a hundred flights.

The introduction of Runjeet into the treaty is but a further point of the same view. He was at war with the Affghans who detest him as an infidel, and the interference on his part therefore will doubtless increase the thirty years patient affection felt for Soojah. The scorner of domesticity, and the scorner of religion, will doubtless be heartily welcome, and ought to appear in conjunction.

The guaranteeing independence to the Ameers, who possess it already, is very liberal but somewhat supererogatory. These gentlemen are however satisfied to possess the substance; and object to opening the door to the wolf that he may feel the pulse of the patient. They are even mustering their forces to oppose this benevolent demonstration; and we cannot wonder at it altogether, seeing the faith of British treaties, as in Oude, before them.

The same may be said of Herat and Cabul: when this is conquered the British army is to be withdrawn. What, is there no future to come? We rejected the alliance of Dost Mahommed, and to prevent his forming a league with Persia and Russia to-morrow, we are driving him into it to-day! We shall blame him, and him alone, if Russian troops come to his assistance: the aggrandizement, the ambition will be all the Emperor's! And we, who shall thus extend our frontiers on all points, north and west, and interfere to make new enemies and sow new jealousies in Tatary, at ten-fold trouble, time, and expense, to say the least of it;—we, who are forcing our rule upon all sides that we dare attempt it, we are the sole martyrs—the victims to Russian ambition!

If however 5000 British troops can win all Cabul for Soojah while 30,000 Persians could not take a single town, why do we fear Persia so much? Why do we feel alarmed because a weak and vaunting fool like the Shah dreams of marching through Cabul and Candahar, to Segistan, Moultan, and Beloochistan, and thence probably to Calcutta? When this hero of the seven-leagued boots failed in his first step, might we not answer to the rest like Sterne's Giant to the Dwarf threatening his pigtail, "that he was welcome, if he could reach it?" The first sound of active opposition sends the modern Nadir to his own country, and to prove to him the wickedness of assailing Cabul, we seize it ourselves. Really the Shah and the Governor General are aptly matched. With orator Henley, "we know whom we beat."

The proclamation hints darkly but plainly enough at the designs of Russia, and so every man in England understood the allusion. Lord Palmerston has but just declared, for the twentieth time, that Russia has no such designs. Then which are we to believe?—for he contradicts the Governor General of India. All the ministry, as Lord Melbourne avowed, concurred in Lord Auckland's doings; then all differ from Lord Palmerston; and he also from himself! This is a singular double contradiction, and hitherto unnoticed, we believe: and yet there is a third; for satisfied as the noble viscount has ALWAYS declared himself with the friendly conduct of Russia, he has yet thought it necessary, apparently constantly, to demand explanations of that conduct.

With Lord Auckland and Lord Palmerston in such full opposition to each other, both cannot be right; but both may be wrong. A thing cannot be and not be at the same time. Is there no mystery behind this?

The position of Nicholas and his ministers, which we have dwelt upon at some length, may furnish a part of the clue; and we refer to Mr. Brenner's recent excellent work upon Russia,* which we regret has only just fallen in our way, to bear out our allegations, and throw complete light upon the position internal and external of that power, and on the personal character of the Emperor. No work of the present day can exceed it in minuteness and exactitude, and its extent enables the writer to carry out much that we, before its appearance, had had in type of the present article. The readers of that work find a new field of inquiry and information laid open to them; and had it been earlier published, it would have saved them much incertitude. On the "Views of Russia" however and some other points, we cannot hold with the writer, but shall state our opinion presently.

It is clear that the dark hints to which we have alluded as affording the governor-general a veil to throw over his mysterious policy and projected feats of arms, must undeniably refer to Russia; because the conduct of the Cabul chiefs is openly treated, and also the Persian invasion. There can therefore be no question of any third power sufficiently formidable to call forth all these military movements of our Eastern armies upon that frontier, if not Russia: since the ministers at home concurred without exception in the measures taken by Lord Auckland, it is evident therefore that Russia must have been at the bottom of all: yet we are formally told by Lord Palmerston that there are no proceedings on her part. Had not Persia a right recognized by Art. 7 of our Treaty with her in 1809, to make war against the Affghans? Our right to interfere, so far as defending our own frontiers gives, was admitted, but whence comes the right of extending it? Could not the Kandaharee chief go to war with Runjeet, could not our neighbours be left to weaken themselves by incessant warfare without our directions? and was not this distracted state of the border rulers a proof of intestine jealousies that formed a safer defence to ourselves than an extension of our sway, in the face of every right, into a new field of dominion? The Sikhs of Lahore and the Affghans have a religious feud; the latter detesting the former as infidels. They had coalesced previously for a time, when, in 1834, Runjeet was to replace Soojah on the throne, it may be argued; yet this was with but a small portion of the disaffected, and against

* Bremner's Excursions in Russia. 2 vols. Colbourn, London.

the Affghan nation; it is therefore no proof of cordiality, but of union of interest only; and the previous conduct of Runjeet to Sooja, whom he robbed and plundered to absolute beggary when the latter took refuge at his court, shows the motives of Runjeet Singh, and the degree of faith and friendship to be expected on either hand. In this projected invasion of the Affghans, our allies, the British Government in India acquiesced.

The Affghans, who hate the Sikhs, were preparing a religious crusade against them when the governor-general so recently interfered from dread of their uniting with the Persians. But the Affghans hate the Persians also, with a religious animosity, for the former are Soonis like the Turks, the latter are Shiahs. The sectarian hatred of the Turks and Persians has alone, and always, prevented them from co-operating for any time. The same would be and has been the case between Persians and Affghans: and it is unquestionable that this hatred has always been the source of the aggressions on both sides, and of the recent energetic defence of Herat. In fortifying this town, and in the broken and divided state of all Cabul, therefore, a far stronger and more honourable source of security existed for our Indian possessions than in our advancing claims upon sovereignties for our needy dependents, opening a new field for our own aggressions, interesting strange nations to unite against us, giving them ample food for alarm at our encroachments and ambition against weak and divided states, and adding to the discontents already existing throughout India, a fresh source of expenses, dissensions, protections, and wars, in Central Asia also: and all this, be it observed, while Russia is in no degree scheming against us, according to our Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"Cabul and Kandahar are the gates of India," is quoted by the author of a sensible and able pamphlet,* though somewhat alarmist perhaps, as the sound dictum of an Indian conqueror. In his day undoubtedly they were—they are so still; but could they not be held by a native prince, actually in possession of them, without injury or expense to ourselves or violation of the rights of others? And, if assailed, would not a British subsidiary force aid in holding them so soon as aid was requisite for the purpose? As matters stand, who can blame Dost Mahommed for throwing himself under Russian protection; becoming tributary if needful to Russia, or to Persia. If Russia came down into Central Asia to support her new ally, would not the act itself, and, if we are to believe Lord Palmerston, the initiative also, be owing only to Lord Auckland's premature terrors and aimless heroics?

* India, Great Britain, and Russia.—*Bailey*, 1838.

The best defences of our frontiers would be in the love of the different native races: the really formidable Persian irregular horse would then be met by at least their equals in the open plains; that is to say, by the Rohillas and natives of the Northern frontiers, the finest soldiers in Asia; the former strongly recommended by the late Honorable Mr. Shore, and Captain Westmacott,* and by every man acquainted with India, as invaluable in the field; and yet both these gallant races have we outraged and alienated by our proceedings, at Oude, &c. in the former case, and by the unjustifiable seizure of the free military tenures, a scheme devised by Lord Hastings and perfected only by Lord Auckland!

Had 5000 men in the first instance been moved towards Herat, it is clear the Persian Shah's stay there would have been short; and all the mad expense and impolicy of an offensive treaty with Shah Sooja avoided; and the costs of preparing 35,000 men obviated at once. But the whole frontier was excited needlessly against us by Lord Auckland's previous policy, from Hydrabad to Oude; and Runjeet Singh, too cautious to be outreached by English moderation, distrusting the Usurper-General, who had seized Oude on the one hand, and was about to seize Cabul on the other, as having possibly an eye to his own intermediate dominions, contrived to delay and flatter the pompous weakness of honest Lord Auckland, (honest Iago!) and delay the whole affair, till, had there been any real ground for alarm, it would have been too late to act. No doubt he was and would have been secured by treaties, such as Oude relied on once; but he had better secured himself meantime by a supply of the best arms the East India Company could furnish him, during his own life-time, and required no new Colonel Low to ensure the succession to his offspring after his death.

A glance at Wyld's map of the countries between Turkey and Birmah, (compiled as we are happy to bear testimony, from very recent and authentic sources, British and foreign,† and of the

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* "Present and Future Prospects of our Indian Empire." This, and Shore's Notes on India, are awful expositions of British injustice and folly in the East.

† For instance, the coasts of the Red Sea we observe are taken from the Surveys of Lieutenant Wellsted; and of the coasts of Arabia the same: the Persian Gulf, from the Indian Navy survey, in two sheets: the country to the North of the Aras, from the sketches of Baron Meyendorf and Mouravieff: the Caspian Sea from the Large Chart of the Russian Admiralty: consulting also Monteith's Map of Armenia; Colonel Sutherland's map of the Province of Azerbijan; Colonel Rottier's (in the Russian service) sketches of the Caucasus.

The position of Candahar, we perceive, is laid down one degree different from *Burnes*, and from *Arrowsmith's* large map, but it agrees with the Russian sketches and maps. The difference is of the highest importance in military and other calculations.

highest merit) proves unquestionably that Hindostan has two strong outworks between it and independent Tartary to the North-West, in the Kingdoms of the Punjub and Cabul, and two efficient barriers between it and Persia, to the West, the barren wastes of Mekran and the waters of the Indus. The Parsee navy, the Anglo-Indian shipping and steamers, are surely enough to maintain the passage of this last; and is not Cabul with its incessant mountains and difficult passes easily to be maintained by native troops against invaders, if only we will exert our diplomacy against Russia, and not run headlong against the first stone wall we can build against ourselves?

A simple alliance by which Kamran should be maintained, and the Barukhzyah brethren confirmed in their possessions;—all held by right of conquest, and Soojah himself is not the right heir, there being one nearer claimant by descent in this case, as in the Oude question also;—would do more to alleviate the dangers and strengthen the position of British India, than all the recent expenses, so confessedly vain and thrown away, of the Governor-General, and which have had but the one effect of uniting all the frontier powers against our course. Well may even the Shah retain positions in the vicinity of Herat, if upon defensive grounds only, with so determined an hostility against him, weak as he is yet not altogether unamiable, and bitterly offended at having to treat with an untitled minister from England. Mr. Macneil has had, in this alone, a serious difficulty to contend against; and if his services were worth employing, it is a pity they were not made most efficient by so simple a form of dignity as knighthood at least, against the full powers and European dignities borne by his antagonist Simonivitch.

If to the foregoing considerations we add the fact, that of £800,000 sterling, the amount of the duties annually at Cabul, the greater part by far is supplied by the British trade; if we recall the statements respecting that with Central Asia and its triumphant progress against Russian commerce; when we consider that Persia not only receives our goods, but has confessed the importance of this trade, even recently, in the continuance of it under the auspices of the Court, when the Sovereign is most mortified and irritated against us; if we find that inclination towards British education is felt in even the seminaries of Persia, and that our opinions and modes of thinking are anxiously consulted and rapidly gaining ground there; and finally, that from Lahore itself repeated applications have been made to establish a system of English education there also, we need be under little apprehension for any chance of future preference of barbarism to civilization, unless by the injustice and ambition of our

Anglo-Indian Government. If Russian enterprise should precede us in any portion of Central Asia, will not our commercial activity by the Indus, in spite of all obstacles, enable us in the superiority of our manufactures to produce the same effect as in the more Western parts of Asia, to which we have alluded above? It can only require common attention to our interests, and maintenance of a character for high faith and real moderation, to ensure us from rivalry of any kind in these quarters.

And here we must refer to the opinions of Count Bjornstjerna, a diplomatist of acknowledged foresight and ability, and from which nothing but the vast importance of the general views we have been submitting could have so long detained us. The Count notices the chances for happiness for the natives in the superior cultivation of our countrymen, and stability and regularity of our form of Government; but he considers these advantages balanced by the natural love of liberty that accompanies civilization, the restlessness of various native tribes, especially those thrown out of the system they lived by, of war and violence and plunder, and particularly the natural dislike of a foreign race, of conquerors or settlers. The Mussulman he regards as less attached to us than the Hindoo, and the upper classes of these last less so than the lower, who have ever found a protector in the British Government. He observes however that the repeated acts of injustice, the deposition of native princes and rajahs by the English, is a serious objection to the natives.

As to foreign enmity Count Bjornstjerna considers it more dangerous as acting indirectly than directly, though we conceive he underrates the means of annoyance from the East.

The North West frontier he considers to be the only one vulnerable, as the line of the Indus is not our real boundary, but that of the Sutlej; the former river being the limit of Lahore. Still the Count, and he is a military man of the highest reputation at home, opines that we might defend the 200 geographical miles of its course, as supplies and troops would be easily received and maintained: our force of 180,000 men could soon be increased, with auxiliaries, to 240,000. One-third, according to him, might unite with the Rajahs of Lahore and the Ameers of Sinde (alas for Lord Auckland's policy towards these!); one-third might form a reserve behind the Sutlej and Loony; and the remainder preserve peace at home: while the advanced posts would extend to Peshawar and the Solimân chain of mountains. This position the Count considers would enable our force to march effectually to any point assailed.

The great changes in Central Asia are dwelt upon at considerable length and with great ability, and the alteration of attachment

to ourselves in fifteen years calmly but effectively reasoned upon. Into this we need not now go.

Of Russia Count Bjornstjerna says that the change of ten years has made the invasion of India now within the verge of *possibility*, since the Dardanelles and Bosphorus are opened to her and closed to all other nations. Observing her extensive acquisitions to the Aras and Ararat, and the desire long felt by Central Asia to conquer Hindostan, he considers nevertheless that the troops that could assail it could only be irregular cavalry, and no match consequently for regular forces, provided with artillery.

We take from a very able writer, acquainted with the scenes he animadverts upon, the following remarks in corroboration of M. Bjornstjerna's opinion and our own:

"The Tartars are jealous of foreigners, hardy and warlike in their habits, to whom the political intrigues of Russia and her insatiable lust of power are well known; and few, who are acquainted with them, would easily believe that, in any case, would they voluntarily ally themselves with a power that has successively engulfed all the petty tribes which exist along her southern and eastern frontier."*

We quote the same writer's opinion regarding the native States of India:

"At that epoch I was in the Mahratta States, and had full opportunity of judging whether there was any evil feeling evinced towards us by the princes of that country, unquestionably the most warlike of all the native sovereigns who are either tributary to or in alliance with us, and I am quite sure they were little affected by the rumours which reached them of the ill-success which at first attended our arms in coercing the golden-footed monarch.

"The fact is, they are so little accustomed to cultivate foreign political relations, so self-concentrated in their views, so occupied in petty childish intrigues about precedence, etiquette, &c. that, unless foreign assistance was at their door, they would not lift a hand to break through the tutelage in which we hold them.

"I allude particularly to the states of Poonah, Nagpore, Oujein, Hydrabad, and the thousand and one petty chiefs who are spread over the territory of India within the Ganges. The public may be certain that it would require a long series of reverses to our arms and policy to rouse into action the sluggish spirit of Indian independence: indeed, I know not whether such a spirit exist at all, unless we dignify with that name the despotic wish which the native princes may perhaps occasionally indulge in, of governing their subjects without the wholesome restraints of the law."—*Russia versus India*, pp. 17, 18.

Again:

"Thousands of Mussulman Hadjis, or pilgrims, annually leave India

* Russia versus India, or Observations on the present political Relations of England with the East. By an old Indian. Richardson, 1838.

to visit the tomb of the Prophet in Arabia. In the course of their journey through Mohummedan states, they occasionally witness the arbitrary punishments inflicted by cazis or judges on delinquents. The felek or bastinado, by which the feet are battered to mummy, the putting out of an eye, and sometimes altogether extinguishing the sight, are a few among the many horrid modes in use in Persia and Arabia of making a culprit expatiate his offences against the law.

"These punishments are inflicted so summarily, that the most unfortunate mistakes frequently occur, and the innocent suffer for the guilty. How do these pilgrims, on their return home, bless that mild administration of justice which characterises the government under which they live, where even the 'law's delay' affords an additional security against its abuse!

"Indeed I have heard intelligent natives expatiate with enthusiasm on this subject, and have seen them shrink with terror at the idea of living in the neighbouring states of India, such as Pegu, Nepaul, &c. where criminal jurisprudence is practised with all the horrid refinement of Eastern barbarity."—*Ibid.* p. 26.

Count Bjornstjerna's work is undoubtedly able, and is adapted rather for his own countrymen than foreigners; a portion only of it is political. To the remainder we may return hereafter; satisfying ourselves for the present with saying that it does high credit to the author's intellectual powers and studies in every branch of the subject.

In closing our notice of the subject of India we must observe, that the dangers that could so quickly pass over harmless, could not have been so formidable as represented by the Indian press, and still more so by the governor-general: and we have, we trust, shown that his policy was alarmed and premature; that haste of fear,

> "——— that from the first
> Wild with blind dread, accelerates the worst."

It is clear that Runjeet Singh, our very respectable ally, sees his interests at all points to be in consorting with us and keeping us from any interventions in his own favour, while we play his game of dissensions in Cabul and Affghanistan; and our own in Hydrabad and Oude. The instructions respecting this unhappy country, so suspiciously withheld under pretext of not yet being enforced, though acted upon, until time and other matters, now approaching, shall divert public attention from the subject, certainly require parliamentary and national interference. At present we are half inclined to agree with the natives of India, who have discovered but one fitness for his office in the President of the India Board; and this in the mysterious initials that precede his surname, as indicating his personation of John Company.

Having thus examined the prospects of British policy in the East, and exposed our own decided opinion, and that of various writers fully competent in our judgment to decide the question, of danger from Russian schemes in that quarter, we must now turn to Europe, and see what is the actual situation of affairs here with reference to the views of Russia.

Of Norway, which M. Bremner, in common with several others, considers an object to the Emperor Nicholas, as opening the North Seas to his Baltic fleets, we need merely observe that the nation itself is jealous to excess of foreign influence, that it is now in a great measure reconciled to Sweden, and participates in its reluctance to increase the power of Russia. Most assuredly it prefers its present condition infinitely to coming under the yoke of the latter power; which cannot approach Norway without outraging Sweden.

Sweden herself has never forgiven the loss of Finland; and if she could be indifferent to this, not so are the Finlanders themselves, who detest the Russians, and would gladly take the earliest opportunity of throwing off their masters if the least prospect existed of succeeding in the effort. They now bitterly repent their own lukewarmness in the war of conquest, and the misconduct, if not treachery, of their nobles. So satisfied is Russia of the active hatred felt there against herself, that her fleets are kept in constant preparation and display along the coast, and her internal police is vigilant to excess throughout the country, to overawe the inhabitants, whom no efforts have yet conciliated.

The force collected by Russia in Aland is undoubtedly formidable to Sweden, whose small but respectable and well-prepared fleet would be no match for her mighty antagonist in war. The Swedes are brave undoubtedly, and each vessel would certainly do her duty to the utmost in case of need; but the Swedes understand better fighting ship to ship than the management of a whole fleet. The expenses too of a large squadron would be too heavy for the state, but there is a most formidable force of gun-boats kept up amounting, with those building, in Norway and Sweden to between 3 and 400; a force amply sufficient not only to guard their coasts, but seriously also to annoy any enemy in the Baltic, however strong in ships of the line.

Denmark, whose existence depends on the Sound-duties, is undoubtedly supported by Russia in the claim for these, and so far is connected with the latter. But she knows also that Russia uses this right of hers but as a safeguard and outpost for her own fleets, and that she herself avoids those dues by conveying her merchandize chiefly overland, by Lubeck, evading here also the duties imposed on other nations, and from which she is alone exempt;

not indeed by the favourable feeling of the Danish Government, but compulsorily, from the necessities of position in the latter. Disliking Russia, and preferring England to her, though not particularly partial to the latter, she yet knows that a single effort of the former would destroy her own power at once, and succumbs for the present, though with palpable reluctance, to this "stranger within her gates."

The position of Prussia we have repeatedly noticed: when Austria retired from general Germany to her own southern portion, Prussia assumed the post of leader for the northern part, by her commercial league, which operates effectively, and, as she well calculated, in a political sense also. Her strong cordons and vigilant eye in Poland against the slow but steady encroachments of Russia in that quarter mark, as well as other facts, noticed by us elsewhere, her resolution, and her power, to resist Russian influence in future.

The position of Austria is altogether changed, and her policy has changed with it, as the recent treaties evince. From the time that she resigned the nominal empire of Germany, and more especially of late years, this great power has devoted much attention to the condition of her Southern provinces and their neighbours; that is, the states of Italy, and the Turkish dominions joining her own. With regard to the former of these it has long been the intention of her most consummate statesman to form, so soon as Italy could be adapted for it, a sort of Federation under the protection of Austria. This project, we understand, is now under consideration and intended speedily to be put into execution; so soon in fact, as the miserable jealousies of the Italian States towards each other can be harmonized, and something like consistency obtained to build upon.

The treaty recently concluded for the navigation of the Danube, though differing little in form from one to which we have elsewhere alluded in a preceding article of our present Number, is yet far more important in its actual efficiency, which is greatly increased by the stipulations respecting the Black Sea trade. The increase of the Austrian navy is thereby assured; her connexion with Turkey cemented; and more important almost than these two considerations themselves, her political influence is extended towards the independent and Turkish provinces, over the commerce of the former of which she extended her protection by the convention of 1835 with Greece. Her own commercial interests in truth, Eastward and South along the Danube and the Adriatic, compel her attention to these points, which bring her, the latter into connection with Britain and Turkey, through Italy also, and the former into direct competition with Russia.

If the heavy duties, recently imposed in the Turkish Treaty, upon the produce of Moldavia and Wallachia, can be, as we hope after a time to see it, modified in their favour, the inducement of these provinces to maintain the connection of trade will doubtless be strong in favour of the High Contracting Parties: but in the meantime, regarding the pains they formerly took to exchange the Turkish for the Russian connection, they will be taught by the loss inflicted that Russia is not all in all for them; and the disadvantage to commerce thus coming on the back of the intrigues against their independence on the part of the latter, will greatly assist, we conceive, the reluctance of both, and especially Wallachia, to the growing assumptions of Russia over their governments.

Of Servia we have spoken largely in the article referred to, and need therefore only class it with the districts on the Austrian frontier, with Bosnia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Dalmatia, Albania, and in fact with all the range of country extending to Greece, and to Turkey strictly so called. In a former Number we noticed the military line of these countries, we now must consider them in a still more important view.

We have expressed our conviction that the acquisitions of Russia on the Persian side have been more of a negative than a positive tendency, so far as influence is concerned; intended rather to act as a barrier to British political as well as commercial interests against her own, than as a source of absolute danger to British possessions in the East; though with a prospect of affecting these indirectly, and raising alarms, and adding to our pecuniary and political embarrassments there; fast increasing as these are under the tutelary genius of the actual Governor-General. It is, we affirm, only a minor attack, or feint.

On the other hand, considerable interest has been excited by Russia's proceedings towards Turkey and the worst auguries elicited if she should succeed in her designs against the latter. We have expressed already our doubts as to the reality of the danger and its imminence in this particular quarter: and as, in so doing, we have run counter to the general impression of Europe, and the decided judgment of every one of our contemporaries, we must assign at some length our reasons for this difference of opinion, and point, to the best of our means, the real source from which danger may be apprehended; the real views, in fact, of Russia, entertained and acted upon steadily for the last twenty years of her political existence, but apparent much earlier; though then in common with other schemes, since rendered subservient to the one grand object.

We have dwelt upon the position of Persia, as offering now

both a bar against any intrigues or proceedings with the Caucasus, &c. in the South Eastern part of the Russian Empire, and as a point of support to Russian intrigues as well as to Russian commerce in the East. This, we have endeavoured to show, is all that can be made of Persia without a larger aid from her European neighbour, and a better system in herself, than can be expected. We conceive too that Turkey, so much nearer the views of Russian policy, is not farther desirable as a possession than by connecting the different points of Russian enterprise; that held by a friendly, and, so to say, subservient power, she would offer the latter all the advantages and none of the difficulties of positive occupation; for great as the former would unquestionably be, the last would at least counterpoise them, in the jealousy of the native Russians at a new capital, so far superior to the ancient one and to her more modern rival, and which must necessarily draw all interests and active power from them to itself. Farther, the positive hatred of the Turks for the Russians themselves, as usurpers and unbelievers, and the want to any extent of that great bond of sympathy, a community of interests; together with the expenses which this continued subjugation would entail upon Russia; and the extent of frontier among uncivilized tribes that must be maintained: all these considerations, and the sacrifices they would require, could not certainly be met by Russia in the outset at least, whatever the supposed extension of her trade in consequence might in time produce.

The possession of Constantinople, however glorious and imposing, could offer no advantage beyond what was obtainable by holding Turkey as a subservient power simply: and such only, we conceive, it is the object of Russia to make her. So long as she holds the Dardanelles and Bosphorus at the command of the Emperor, his territories are as secure as if they were in his own keeping: so long as Turkish produce is monopolized by the government and farmed to influential individuals alone, who prevent its export by enormous prices, saddled too as it is with duties, imposts, taxes, direct and indirect, Russia enjoys the advantage of directing the monopoly by influencing the government, and thus pursuing her own commerce without a rival. Were Russia at war with other great powers, such as England, France, or America, Turkey could supply, if nominally independent, the produce of these countries to Russia. The jealousies of a hostile creed and population, dangerous at all times, formidable to a conqueror in any complicated military and distant operations, would be avoided by thus keeping in indirect subjection a people who would be obedient to their own native rulers, but fanatically hostile to foreign sway.

The course of the Russian government would seem to countenance fully this view of the case, which, until they are sufficiently strong to defy the jealousy of European powers, is the only one maintainable: and the strong opposition of Russia to the change of the ancient mercantile system of Turkey, and the obvious anxiety to retain her in consequent helplessness, is explainable on no other grounds, since the free commerce of a free country would in other points of view be advantageous to her neighbour. Nor is this the only indication, as we shall shortly see.

Secured by the submissive dependence of Turkey and Persia, the Black Sea and the Caspian occupied by her vessels alone, and the Dardanelles and Bosphorus closed to all intervention, Circassia could not long hold out; and the Caucasus, whose wild wastes cost Russia not less than 8,000 men annually, from the mere severity of the service, and independent of an established war there against her authority, would be forced by degrees to submit. With such ample territory as she possesses, what then would be the real wants of Russia? In truth that, and that alone, which was the great want of Napoleon: Ships, Colonies, and Commerce: In the absence of these she is comparatively powerless; a body sufficiently large it is true, but deficient in the vital fluids that give life and vigour by active circulation. We have seen that the overland trade of Russia is insufficient to hold its ground against the competition of the possessor of the seas; and since rail-roads cannot be formed as yet throughout the interior of Asia the more bulky articles of commerce and manufacture must be transported by water. To what source then can Russia turn to obtain this, to her the one, sole, essential principle of commercial existence, power, and prosperity, even at home, within the vast and now languid extent of her territory? The answer is—Greece.

Whatever might be the conveniences of possessing Turkey, there is not one of these that cannot be obtained by the possession of Greece. The commerce, if not command, of the Mediterranean would then be for Russia; Great Britain and France might be safely set at nought; Egypt would lie at her feet; the land trade of Asia Minor, &c. could be increased considerably as of old; Italy would be held in check; Austria would see a far and hopelessly superior navy hovering over her coasts at any moment when the movements of Northern or Central Europe might tend to give uneasiness to her great rival; and Turkey would be only the slave of her neighbour, existing then, and then only, upon bare sufferance.

If we examine the simplest outline of Russian policy we shall see that this has been its real object for a considerable time,

though veiled under different pretexts. Such was the affection for their brethren of the same religion in Greece, and in the Turkish provinces; such was the imputed ambitious views and faithlessness of the Porte; such the necessity for occupying ports in the Adriatic against France and the ambition of Napoleon and against the co-operation of Austria; such the reluctance to restore these till insisted on beyond the power of evasion at Tilsit; and such the real motive of separating the principalities from Turkey. The instant this was done; the instant that Greece became independent of the latter power, this ceased to be the object of Russia; her Mediterranean labours and intrigues were for Greece alone; and Nicholas could with perfect security and perfect sincerity give his word that Constantinople was not coveted, nor would be held by him.

What indeed would be the advantage of it, unless as secondary to the more important point? With the free passage of the Straits open to Russian fleets; with the ample security of Greek harbours at every turn for her navies, her merchantmen, and smallest craft; with the supply of Greek seamen for every branch of service; and with the position of Greece for commanding the Mediterranean, well might Russia boast openly then, what her minister of marine once unguardedly avowed, "Greece alone once ours, we laugh at England, and France, and Austria." The combination of these three would be rendered next to impossible by the difference of interests then induced, and the different degrees of exposure to danger. Then a large Baltic fleet off British shores would expose the coasts of England to the annoyance of sudden descents, and require three times the number of vessels to guard the whole line from insult: or sailing down into the Mediterranean, would sweep that sea of British fleets, and impose conditions on the helpless and undefended shores of Austria. It is not for nothing that the Emperors of Russia indulge in this expensive toy, as it is termed; this freak of fancy at present, but the means of a surer advantage whenever the time and opportunity serves; but not till then.

Greece once in the possession of Russia, Constantinople must be hers; virtually or actually, it matters not which. Were it now seized it could be retaken; such at least is the opinion of the Russian engineers themselves, who coincide in the opinion so boldly and well avouched by the Marquess of Londonderry in opposition to "the long and military hypothesis" of Marshal Marmont. It might cost the Russians 200,000 men, but it could not be retained by them against the allies as affairs stand: and even if they could keep the city itself, could they hold the whole country against the Turkish population aided by Austrian troops, and assisted by the navy of Great Britain in the Euxine and Adriatic?

Alter the case however, and give Greece to Russia, the hostility of Turkey would be harmless and isolate. The supplies of an invading land-force from Austria would be cut off by sea; insurrections like that of the Montenegrins at this hour, would be nourished to endanger its land communications; the Archipelago with its islands occupied, would bar access to the British navy; the sea of Marmora would be closed to the Turks; and though they might retain the Dardanelles, that formidable passage would be avoided by the possession of the country; while the neck of the Chersonesus between the Dardanelles and the gulf of Saros, scarcely five miles across, affords the occasion for a canal in the neighbourhood of Boulair, between the two rivers that run nearly north and south, the first from Echiftilik and the gulf of Saros, long. 44.36, the other from the sea of Marmora, slightly farther to the eastward; a labour of about two miles would unite these, and open the Asiatic as well as European coasts of Turkey to the ravage of a Russian fleet.

It is obvious that the march of Russian policy tending from the Pruth to the Adriatic has fairly roused the activity of Austria, and brought the progress of the two powers and their influence fairly into collision, both mercantile and political. The navigation of the Danube, aided by the canal projected from Hirsova to Khustenji, and which has been so strongly and successfully urged on the Porte by the Austrian Government, while it brings the provinces in question into closest connection with the latter, thereby invigorates them also to renew their rivalry of Russian trade, so soon as the nine per cent. indiscriminate additional duties, imposed by the recent Treaty, can be removed. Russia has shown her jealousy by the additions to her force in those countries.

Wallachia, Moldavia, Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, all Christian, are of the more value to Russia, as they break up the line of opposition, and sever the links of the chain that unites Turkey to Austria; and through Hungary, ever sympathizing with, and ready to join, their half-brethren the Poles. The favourable disposition of Austria towards these in some stages of the late insurrection was unquestionable: and if either of the two races, in Hungary and Galicia, are impatient of Austria in minor degree, yet they far more detest the despotic principle of Russia.

Moldavia, and the provinces down to Greece, form a strong line of obstacles certainly to the march of Russian policy or arms; but the obstacles are negative merely. Roumelia and Albania are purely Turkish; but the positive and negative have been wisely seized of late by Great Britain, whose numerous appointments of Consular Agents to almost all the foregoing provinces, is viewed as a politica rather than commercial step; a support to Austrian

policy at the hour, a preliminary to the Treaty, and a check to Russia. This is particularly the case with Dalmatia, where the commerce is trifling, whatever it may be hereafter; but where activity and energy are wanting to counteract the Russian proceedings and intrigues with the Montenegrins, for the one desired object of Cattaro; the great outlet to Greece itself. The activity of Tatischeff for his country's interests is not less ominous to us now in that quarter, than when in his early youth it was exerted so dexterously, so unsuspected, and so prejudicially to Napoleon.

The views of Russia then, we trust we have made it apparent, are in reality addressed to Greece itself, and towards Constantinople only in a secondary sense. Mistress of Greece and of the Archipelago on the west, and of the Black Sea on the east, it would surely be immaterial who holds the intervening line, the gate of the passage that must be at her disposal, if not in her possession. Hence her vast efforts in the Black Sea, the real source of all danger, and her ever ready fleet, of but secondary importance however, in the Baltic; whose junction at any moment with the Euxine force in the Mediterranean must be fatal to Europe, as overpowering all possible opposition. Even Turkey seems to have taken the alarm in that quarter. Her naval preparations, her large importations of English gunpowder, though amply supplied besides from her own manufactories at home; her purchase of steam-vessels for the Black Sea, and her construction of steam-frigates, two of which are in progress now, show her not insensible to the danger of suffering Russia to accumulate, as she is doing, the many steam-vessels she has in service there. What in fact are the objects of the latter? Her fleet in the Euxine is surely too strong for Circassia alone. Does she intend to assail her former protegé, Turkey? and why? And is the Turkish power so formidable as to require, at any cost, the hire of English and other foreign ship-builders in the Black Sea harbours, the engagement of British and American seamen in the Black Sea fleet? The enormous expenses too of the Baltic squadron, continually renewed and increased as it is, in despite of the destructive worms of the Neva acting on the indifferent materials of its construction,—What is it for?

We are well aware that as the waters of the Black Sea are everywhere deep close in-shore, so that line-of-battle ships can ride up to the edge almost, Russia has carefully fortified her stations there, not with cannon alone, but with every new invention obtainable since the last war. While some of these have been rejected from foreigners by ourselves, on the principle that we could wish no alteration in the system of naval warfare, and should

therefore be the last to adopt it, she has embraced all offers, made liberal proposals, tried every experiment, fished out every secret, disappointed the various projectors, if they are to be believed, of their reward, and employed the most effective of the projects secretly and for her own security. Sebastopol for instance is utterly unassailable in the old way.

Much has been said of navies. We have no fear of invasions, even though within the last twelve months a Russian agent has taken plans of the various English harbours, and in especial of the soundings, &c. at the entrance of the Thames. If meant for actual hostilities at any time, the attempt would be ridiculous, and our large steam-force secures us against surprise, abroad as well as at home, since our vessels could be towed to form a junction much faster than any regular fleet could sail against them. The Russian ships too are built of bad timber, and make much bilge-water; the crews are brave, but not active; and if tolerably efficient at the gun, yet very indifferent at boarding. But with all these objections they are still formidable; and require in case of necessity to be met on equal terms; ships to ships, if we would support our name for naval superiority, and mightier powers against mightier powers if we would maintain our own station amongst kingdoms.

The objection to the new system rests chiefly with the prejudices of those who succeeded by the old one, and the consequent support given to these by their friends, the influential supporters of the actual Admiralty and its Lords. We trust the commission instituted of late will inquire into this branch of the subject closely, or we may wake from our present supineness to find our power departed, our dominion of the ocean given to another, while we have been sleeping so long.

PHOTOGENIC DRAWINGS.

Public attention has been called of late to a mode of drawing said to have been invented at Paris by M. Daguerre, and by which he fixes upon a metallic plate the lights and shadows of a landscape or figure solely by the action of the solar light. The interest thus excited has been increased by the publication of a series of experiments made by our countryman Mr. Talbot, directed towards the same object, and producing nearly similar results. In describing this interesting invention it will be well to commence with the first discoveries made by Mr. Wedgwood about the year 1800, and afterwards extended by Sir Humphry Davy.

The attention of these two eminent chemists was directed to the subject by the extraordinary effect produced by light upon the nitrate of silver, which led them to hope that the purposes of the artist might be assisted by the susceptibility of the metallic oxide. The first experiment was made by Mr. Wedgwood for the purpose of copying paintings upon glass, and was eminently successful; the copy obtained possessing all the figures of the original, in their native shades and colours: it was also in a high degree permanent, so long as it was preserved from the action of the light. The same gentleman discovered that the shadow of an opaque object thrown upon the paper was copied in outline with great correctness; but though both these celebrated chemists were constant and persevering in their endeavours to render the drawing permanent they were entirely unsuccessful; the lighter shades darkening by exposure and thus obliterating the impression.

Their failure in this important object was published with their experiments in the Philosophical Transactions, and both having given up the attempt, their discoveries have since remained unimproved. But in the meanwhile M. Daguerre, it appears, struck by some hints he had received from a friend, has steadily pursued his experiments for the last twenty years, and having at length attained his object has declared his discoveries and claimed the invention as his own. Full and satisfactory descriptions are promised by M. Arago and two other scientific engineers appointed to report on the subject, and in the interval a slight outline has been given in the French papers, from which the following account is taken.

A polished metallic plate is the substance made use of, and being placed within the apparatus is in a few minutes removed and finished by a slight mechanical operation. The sketch thus produced is in appearance something similar to aquatint, but greatly superior in delicacy; and such is the extraordinary precision of the detail that the most powerful microscope serves but to display the perfection of the copy. The first efforts of the inventor were directed towards architectural subjects, and a view of the Louvre and Notre Dame are among the most admired of these engravings. In foliage he is less successful, the constant motion in the leaves rendering his landscape confused and unmeaning; and the

same objection necessarily applies to all moving objects, which can never be properly delineated without the aid of memory. But in the execution of any stationary subject, buildings, statues, flowers, the leaves of plants, or the bodies of animals, the fac-simile is perfect; and the value of the invention may therefore be easily conceived.

Several eminent artists have examined the designs, and were equally delighted with the precision and delicacy of the representation. Among the sketches exhibited by the projector was a marble bas relief and a plaster imitation; the first glance was sufficient to detect the difference between these two; and in three views of a monument taken in the morning, noon, and evening, the spectators easily distinguished the hours at which they were executed, by the difference of the light, though in the first and last instances, the sun was at an equal altitude.

But perhaps the anatomist or zoologist will derive the greatest advantages from the discovery, the form of the animal being as easily studied from the drawing as from the original, and the most powerful microscopes not having hitherto detected the smallest deficiency in the details. Nor is the invention devoid of interest to the astronomer, for the light of the moon is sufficient to produce the usual results, requiring only additional time for its operations. The following extract from "Le Commerce" is sufficient to substantiate its value in this respect:—"The experiments on the light of Sirius have confirmed the testimony of natural philosophy, and abundantly proved that the stars are bodies of the same nature as the sun; at the request of M. Biot, M. Daguerre has submitted his apparatus to the influence of the light of the moon, and has succeeded in fixing the image of that luminary. We observed that the image had a trail of light something like the tail of a comet, and we ascribed it to the movement of the body during the operation, which is of much longer duration than that by the light of the sun."

In the spring of 1834 Mr. Talbot began a series of experiments, with the hope of turning to useful account the singular susceptibility evinced by the nitrate of silver when exposed to the rays of a powerful light; but not being acquainted with the researches of former chemists on the subject, he commenced with the same disadvantages which had baffled the skill and perseverance of Sir Humphry Davy. The plan he at first proposed was, to receive a well-defined shadow upon a sheet of paper covered with a solution of nitrate of silver, by which means the part shaded would remain white, while the surrounding portion was blackened by exposure to the light. But he was well aware that the sketch thus obtained would require to be protected from the rays of the sun, and examined only by an artificial light. He had carried these inquiries to some extent, and become possessed of several curious results before he learnt the steps which others had taken to attain the same object; and the decided terms in which Sir Humphry Davy expresses his failure might perhaps have discouraged his less experienced follower, had he not fortunately already conquered the difficulty which had destroyed the hopes of the former chemists.

Mr. Talbot continues:—"In the course of my experiments directed to that end, I have been astonished at the variety of effects which I have

found produced by a very limited number of different processes when combined in various ways; and also at the length of time which sometimes elapses before the full effect of these manifests itself with certainty. For I have found that images formed in this manner, which have appeared in good preservation at the end of twelve months from their formation, have nevertheless somewhat altered during the second year." He was induced from this circumstance to watch more closely the progress of this change, fearing that in process of time all his pictures might be found to deteriorate; this however was not the case, and several have withstood the action of the light for more than five years.

The images obtained by this process are themselves white, but the ground is differently and agreeably coloured; and by slightly varying the proportions, and some trifling details of manipulation, any of the following colours were readily obtained:—light blue, yellow, pink, brown, black, and a dark green nearly approaching to black.

The first objects to which this process was applied were leaves and flowers, which it rendered with extraordinary fidelity, representing even the veins and minute hairs with which they were covered, and which were frequently imperceptible without the aid of a microscope. Mr. Talbot goes on to mention that the following considerations led him to conceive the possibility of discovering a preservative process. Nitrate of silver, which has become darkened by exposure to the light, is no longer the same chemical substance as before; therefore, if chemical reagents be applied to a picture obtained in the manner already mentioned, the darkened parts will be acted upon in a different manner from those which retain their original colour, and after such action they will probably be no longer affected by the rays of the sun, or, at all events, will have no tendency to assimilate by such exposure; and if they remain dissimilar, the picture will continue distinct, and the great difficulty be overcome.

The first trials of the inventor to destroy the susceptibility of the metallic oxide were entirely abortive; but he has at length succeeded to an extent equal to his most sanguine expectations. The paper employed by Mr. Talbot is superfine writing paper: this is dipped into a weak solution of common salt, and dried with a towel till the salt is evenly distributed over the surface: a solution of nitrate of silver is then laid over one side of the paper, and the whole is dried by the heat of the fire. It is however necessary to ascertain by experiment the exact degree of strength requisite in both the ingredients, for if the salt predominates, the sensibility of the paper gradually diminishes, in proportion to this excess, till the effect almost entirely disappears.

In endeavouring to remedy this evil, Mr. Talbot discovered that a renewed application of the nitrate not only obviated the difficulty, but rendered the preparation more sensitive than ever; and by a repetition of the same process the mutability of the paper will increase to such a degree, as to darken of itself without exposure to the light. This shows that the attempt has been carried too far, and the object of the experamentalist must be to approach, without attaining this condition. Having prepared the paper and taken the sketch, the next object is to render it

permanent, by destroying the susceptibility of the ingredients for this purpose. Mr. Talbot tried ammonia and several other re-agents with little success, till the iodide of potassium, greatly diluted, gave the desired result: this liquid, when applied to the drawing, produces an iodide of silver, a substance insensible to the action of light. This is the only method of preserving the picture in its original tints, but it requires considerable nicety, and an easier mode is sufficient for ordinary purposes. It consists in immersing the picture in a strong solution of salt, wiping off the superfluous moisture, and drying it by the heat of the fire; on exposure to the sun, the white parts become of a pale lilac, which is permanent and immoveable Numerous experiments have shown the inventor that the depths of these tints depends on the strength of the solution of salt; he also mentions that those prepared by iodine become a bright yellow under the influence of heat, and regain their original colour on cooling. Without the application of one of these preservatives the image will disappear by the action of the sun; but if inclosed in a portfolio, will be in no danger of alteration: this, Mr. Talbot remarks, will render it extremely convenient to the traveller, who may take a copy of any object he desires, and apply the preservative at his leisure. In this respect Mr. Talbot's system is greatly superior to that of M. Duguerre, since it would be scarcely possible for a traveller to burden himself with a number of metallic plates, which in the latter process are indispensable.

An advantage of equal importance exists in the rapidity with which Mr. Talbot's pictures are executed, for which half-a-second is considered sufficient; a circumstance that gives him a better chance of success in delineating animals or foliage; and although our countryman has not thought it necessary to adorn his invention with his own name, nor to keep it a secret till he could sell it to advantage, his claim to originality is equal to M. Duguerre's, and can only be rivalled by that of Mr. Wedgwood, the real discoverer and originator of the art.

Since the publication of the above discoveries, numerous candidates have appeared in the field, all claiming the palm of originality, while philosophers of every grade and country have eagerly pursued the investigation of the subject. The first we shall notice is M. Niepce, who claims priority even over M. Daguerre; and the account he publishes, if correct, will undoubtedly determine the question in his favour. A letter from M. Bauer is the principal evidence for M. Niepce, who it appears mentioned his discovery to this gentleman in the year 1827, while on a visit at Kew, and by the advice of his friend he drew up a memoir on the subject, and caused it to be forwarded to the Royal Society. This document was however returned, it being contrary to the rules of the Association to receive accounts of scientific discoveries unless they detailed the process employed. M. Niepce shortly afterwards returned to France, having presented to his friend several specimens of the newly discovered art, which are still in the possession of M. Bauer. The pictures taken are of two kinds, copies from engravings, and copies from nature; the best of the former is in the possession of Mr. Cussel, and is considered nearly equal to those of M. Daguerre,

with suitable allowance for twelve years' exposure; the specimen taken from nature is however by no means so successful, and is considered inferior to the earliest attempts of his countryman. There can be little doubt that the principle of both processes is precisely the same, though greatly improved by diligent experiments, the material employed in each being a metallic plate, apparently covered with a transparent varnish; but whether intended to receive or to fix the impression is not at present made public. We now come to a statement of M. Bauer which, if not founded on error, will raise the invention of Niepce far above those of both his rivals; he distinctly asserts that he possessed copies of engravings produced solely by the action of light, which were capable of being multiplied in the same manner as an ordinary copper-plate; if this be the case, the greatest secret still remains unknown, even to M. Daguerre himself. It is much to be regretted that M. Niepce did not at once publish his extraordinary discovery, with a full detail of the process employed, as he would then have retained the indisputable right to the merit of the invention, but having preserved the secret so long, and the process being in every respect so different, we cannot see that it in any way interferes with the position of Mr. Talbot.

We must leave this question and now proceed to analyze the claims of two of our countrymen, Messrs. Havell and Wellmore, who are said to have introduced an important addition to the process pursued by Mr. Talbot, a full description of which is contained in a letter to the editor of the Literary Gazette. The first attempt of this gentleman was directed towards an etching, by Rembrandt, of an old man reading, and the result was a reversed fac-simile;—a negro face surmounted by locks of silver; the disappointed artist discovered that a second transfer entirely destroyed the spirit of the picture. To remedy this evil he had recourse to a new process, by which this defect was indeed removed, but the great merit of the art, namely, its self-acting power, was lost. A thin plate of glass was laid on the subject to be copied, upon which the high lights were painted with a mixture of white lead and copal varnish, the proportion of varnish being increased for the darker shading of the picture. The next day Mr. Havell removed the white ground with the point of a penknife, to represent the dark etched lines of the original, and a sheet of prepared paper having been placed behind the glass and thus exposed to the light, a tolerable impression was produced; the half tints had however absorbed too much of the violet ray, an imperfection which was remedied by painting the parts over with black on the other side of the glass; if allowed to remain too long exposed to the sun's rays the middle tints became too dark and destroyed the effect of the sketch; about ten minutes in a powerful sun was considered sufficient. Another method employed by Mr. Havell was to spread a ground composed of white lead, sugar of lead, and copal varnish, over a plate of glass, and having transferred a pencil drawing in the usual manner, to work it out with the etching point till it bore the appearance of a spirited ink drawing, or in the hands of an engraver a highly finished engraving. The above process Mr. Havell made public under the impression that it had been hitherto

overlooked, but Mr. Talbot hearing that he was about to apply for a patent laid claim to the improvement as his own, and not only pointed out some parts of his former memorial where it was distinctly mentioned, but also produced several drawings made precisely in the manner described; he has also laid before the Royal Society a new method of preparing the sensitive paper, which consists in immersing it in a solution of nitrate of silver, and, afterwards washing it with bromite of potassium the nitrate of silver is again applied, the preparation being dried by the fire between each operation; the paper thus treated is extremely sensitive, changing with the feeblest daylight, first to a bluish green, then to olive green, and finally to black.

A letter to Mr. Talbot from his friend Mr. Biot has also been published, and contains many interesting experiments. After commenting upon the value of the discovery, he continues—"The interest with which I viewed this circumstance engaged me to make some experiments upon your preparation, in order to vary its application to the researches in which I am occupied. First—I wished to know whether the change of colour was in any degree influenced by the paper itself; I therefore spread the substance on a piece of white unglazed porcelain instead of paper, taking care to operate by night, and drying it each time at the fire, as you say, I thus obtained a dry solid coating upon the porcelain, which I shut up in a dark place until the morning. In the morning I took it out and found it of a pale sulphur yellow colour; I then presented it to the daylight at an open window looking north, the weather was then very cloudy, yet no sooner had I so presented it than already it was turned green, and soon afterwards it became black. I then wished to know whether the preparation would succeed equally well if not dried at the fire; I therefore, in a darkened room, mixed the aqueous solution of bromide of potassium with that of nitrate of silver, a precipitate fell which I spread on a porcelain plate and left it to dry in the dark; the next day I wrapped it in several folds of paper, and brought it into another room to show it to a friend; but having taken off the covers in a dark corner of the room in order to exhibit the original colour, pale lemon yellow, instantly we saw its tint become green, and I had hardly time to present it to a window opening to the north before its colour had passed to dark olive green, after which it almost immediately became nearly black. I do not think it possible to find any substance more sensitive to light." Had M. Daguerre or M. Niepce published their experiments at the commencement, Mr. Talbot would have appeared merely as an improver of a foreign discovery.

We must notice here that, by possibility, this art may not be altogether unknown to jugglers in India. It is many years since an offer was made, in our presence, by one of them, to show any gentleman his portrait taken by a single look alone. The master of the house, however, deeming the proposal an insult on the credulity of the company, ordered the man of science to be instantly expelled with the rattan.

MUSIC ABROAD AND AT HOME.

PETERSBURG.—The musical mania is beginning to establish itself in the capital of the great autocrat. A well-written treatise on Counterpoint (in French), by M. Valville, has appeared, and is worth the student's perusal. There is a school for the education of actresses and dancers, they are obliged to serve government for ten years, they may then withdraw upon half their salary, or, after twenty years' service, retire upon the whole sum they have received during their servitude. Marcellos' Psalms are translated into the Russian language: some sheets of this work were transmitted to that composer during his life-time—they are now in the Imperial library. The musical instruments most in use throughout Russia are the harp, kettle drum, hunting horn, and bagpipe. The nuns perform their canonical prayers night and day. They suffer no instrumental music in their churches, for they maintain that the Deity can only be praised with the human voice. Miss Clara Novello has been performing at Concerts here lately—she is now on her way to Italy. Thalberg is expected here very shortly to give Concerts.

PARIS.—The Academie Royale de Musique, now the favourite resort of the dilletanti—and for which place Meyerbeer is finishing an Opera partly composed by his friend and fellow pupil Weber—is regulated by particular laws passed in January 1791, by which it is enacted that the works of living authors cannot be represented in any theatre in that kingdom without their formal consent in writing. The profits of author and composer for *each* representation are fixed at

250 francs for the first fifty representations;
100 ditto for every succeeding one, up to any amount.

For an Opera in one or two acts the rights of authors of the book and music are fixed for each

170 francs for the first fifty representations,
50 ditto for every one afterwards.

(See *Thackeray on Theatrical Emancipation.*)

M. Berlioz produced at a Concert his two symphonies "*L'Event de ma Vie,*" and "*Harold,*" played by the superb band of the Conservatoire; at which, it is said, Paganini was so delighted, that, besides offering homage to the composer on bended knee in the orchestra, he afterwards sent M. Berlioz a note for 20,000 francs. Donizetti, the composer, has settled in Paris; he is engaged upon two new operas, having already written *sixty*. The Library of the Conservatoire de Musique has been restored under the direction of M. Debret; its fine collection of musical literature and music is open to the public from ten in the morning until three in the afternoon. M. Halèvy has written and brought out a new opera, entitled "*Guido et Ginevra,*" or "*The Plague in Florence;*" it has much merit, and was successful. The piano-forte score is published at

Leipzig. A society has lately been formed called *La Nouvelle Societé Musicale*, by which the directors (some of the chief musical men in Paris) propose to effect the same wholesome revolution in chamber music as already has been produced at the Conservatoire in orchestral music. Rossini has been for some time engaged in the composition of a new opera—the subject an Oriental story. M. Nourritt, the celebrated tenor, who was a pupil of Garcia and who originally made his debut in Gluck's *Iphigenie en Tauride*, committed suicide at Naples after singing in Mercadante's opera *Il Giuramento*. He had never recovered the painful sensation inflicted on his mind by the arrival of *Duprez*, the present favourite tenor, and had long been in a desponding state. To prove the esteem in which this justly celebrated artiste was held by his brother professors, the Academie Royale was closed the moment the painful news arrived there. Those who witnessed Nourrit's performance in *Robert le Diable* will equally regret the cause and manner of this lamented performer's decease.

Brussels.—A company is forming here, who intend to establish a theatre in the suburbs for the performance of music of the three schools, (viz. Italian, German, and French). The regulations of this society are made public. A work in two volumes, entitled "*Madame Malibran, par la Comtesse Merlin,*" has just appeared.

Vienna.—Lindpaintner's new opera "*Die Genueserin,*" has been performed under the direction of the composer. He is a musician of great talent. There is remarkable spirit and tact in all the compositions we have inspected by this master—they are but slowly making their way in England. A work on the music of the modern Greeks (*Ueber die Musik der neuern Griechen, nebst freien Gedanken über altegyptische und altgriechische Musik*), is just published, from the pen of R. G. Kiesewetter, well known for his able researches on this abstruse subject. The *Allgemeiner Musikalischer Anzeiger*, for 1839. 52 Nos. 8vo. is printed in this city.

Leipzig.—Auber's latest opera, entitled "*Die Schwester der Feen,*" (The Sister of the Fairies,) has just appeared, published by Breitkopf and Härtel. A new work upon the Physiology of the Human Voice, by Giacomo Bisozzi (*Die Menschliche Stimme und ihr Gebrauch für Sänger und Sängerinnen*), published by Engelmann, is announced. Dr. Fink, editor of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, has printed his work upon the progress of the opera ("*Wesen und Geschichte der Oper.*") It is well worth the perusal of all who study the musical portion of the histrionic art.

Berlin.—A concert was given in the Hall of the King's Theatre by M. Möser, in order to introduce his son, August Möser, a boy of twelve years of age, whose performances on the violin were the admiration of the company. He has a confidence and execution for his years which promises that he will become a virtuoso on the violin. In his execution of the "Tremolo," in Beriot's compositions, he excited the greatest surprise. He was supported by Misses Lowe and Schultz, Mr. Mantius, Mr. Seydelmann, and the flutist Gabrielsky.

Salzburg.—In one of the principal streets of this town, nearly opposite to the University Church, is the house in which Mozart was born in 1756. Neither bust, inscription, or any other memorial of this great artist, draws the eye of the passenger upon it. Mrs. Trollope, in her "*Vienna and the Austrians*," mentions a visit she paid to the tomb of Haydn (*Michael* Haydn, as she calls him). His body is buried at the foot of the steps leading up from St. Rupert's little cathedral to the chapel and cell of St. Maximus: his head, enclosed in a black marble urn, is placed on a monument erected to him in the neighbouring church of the Benedictines. The memorial to Mozart, cast in bronze, will be erected next spring in an open piece of ground in this city.

Dresden.—Thalberg has lately sojourned in this place, giving concerts and astonishing the virtuosi there with his wonderful powers on the piano-forte. Even those learned persons are struck with the gigantic attainments of this *rising* musical luminary, for he has not yet half accomplished his improvement upon the great style of piano-forte composition. He has now left for St. Petersburg.

Darmstadt.—A new opera called "*Leben ein Traum*," or "*Life a Dream*," has appeared here, written by Steppes (founded upon a story by Calderon), the music composed by Concert-master Schlosser, of which report speaks favourably.

Carlsruhe.—A work has just appeared in two volumes, by Dr. J. S. Gassner, entitled "*The Science of Scoring*," or leading points for self-instruction to young composers. *Partitur-Kenntniss, Leitfaden zum Selbstunterricht, für angehende Tonsetzer*, &c. A work of this description is greatly desired by the numerous class of rising composers.

Genoa.—The Stagione Theatre was opened with a new opera by Costamagna. The libretto, by Rovani, is considered among the better order of such productions; in which very great reforms indeed are now required; for the quantity of nonsense given to the world under that imposing name can hardly be imagined by those unacquainted with such matters. The writers of real talent seem most unaccountably to shrink from an occupation that Metastasio has ennobled.

Rome.—Spontini has been invested by the Pope with the order of St. Gregory. The Holy Father complained to this distinguished composer, that church music in Italy was very much on the decline (and *every other species* with safety he might have added), he wished Spontini to consult with the Cardinal Secretary of State, as to the means of infusing a new spirit into its expiring energies. It will be a curious coincidence, if the modern writer succeeds in restoring, what in former days Palestrina (under another pope) was employed to reanimate; for similar reasons. John Cramer is sojourning in this city.

Venice.—The new opera by Vaccaj, "*The Bride of Messina*." Libretto, by J. Cabianca, is a plot full of absurdities; has few points in the music to recompense so feeble a production of this poet, from whom something better was expected.

MILAN.—A reward of 50 Fredericks d'or (44*l.* 10*s.*), has been offered for the best design for a theatre, to be erected in Wismar. Designs to be forwarded before the 1st of May.

NAPLES.—The first number of a work containing an account of the Musical transactions throughout Italy, "*La Gazetta Musicale*," has appeared. The plan of this publication seems well arranged.

PAVIA.—The story of "*Manfred*" has been set as an opera by Perelli, and succeeded.

TRIESTE.—Miss Kemble continues to be the prima donna at the Teatro Grande; she is nightly received with enthusiasm and showers of flowers.

CONSTANTINOPLE.—A plan of founding a Theatre in the environs of this city is very likely to be completed. The intention is to bring out Italian and French operas. Donizetti's brother is director of music to the Sultan. The Italian company from Odessa performed the opera of "*La Straniera*" of Bellini, and "*L'Italiani in Algieri*," before the Sultan, at which he seemed highly delighted. We strongly recommend M. Donizetti to search for genuine Eastern Melodies, so as to found something like a *National* Opera in this musically civilized capital.

CALCUTTA.—"*A Treatise on Arabian Music*," by Abdallah ben Khaledun, translated by J. G. Jackson, Esq., has been advertised for some time; considering it as a musical curiosity, it has been ordered, but no copy as yet has reached England.

LONDON.—The Opera and Concert Season has just commenced. At the former establishment, Grisi, and her relative, Sig. E. Grisi, Rubini, Lablache, with Taglioni, Guerra, as ballet master, &c. are to appear. M. Laporte intends bringing out "*Guillaume Tell*," with the above-named artistes as principals; this will be the great musical attraction; for the lighter operas, he advertises Coppola's "*Nina*," Donizetti's "*Belisario*," and others of that class, which must depend for success *entirely* upon the great talents of the singers. Barnett's opera of "*Farinelli*," brought out lately at Drury Lane, is extremely clever music, scored with a masterly hand, and is just such a work as the musician must be pleased with. The plot is very feeble, and will not bear comparison with his Mountain Sylph. Rooke's new opera, which will soon be brought out at Covent Garden, introduces a new tenor singer to the stage, a Mr. Harrison. Some of the solos, one for Phillips especially, are full of beautiful melody. Under the very able management of Macready, this theatre is in a prosperous state. The Lyceum or English Opera House opens on the 1st inst., the talent engaged and the care of the lessee will, we are confident, insure success—among the novelties advertised we particularly notice a *musical* comedy? the *band a la Musard* have removed to the Adelphia. The St. James's Theatre has passed into other hands: as far as *variety* of entertainment can please the public, the utmost is effected by the present management for that purpose. The Haymarket opened with a powerful company the latter end of March.

. long list of novelties are in active preparation. Mori's and Lindley's lassical Concerts; Moscheles' Matinee's Musicales; Blagrove and)ando's Quartett Concerts, the Concerts à la Musard* at the English)pera House. Those projected at the Colosseum upon the same plan, ogether with the Ancient, Philharmonic and Societa Armonica are all n full activity. It is said that Mendelsohn and Sphor are coming over o the Philharmonic this season, the latter bringing a new symphony in). minor he has just completed. Would it were possible the directors night see the necessity of engaging as effective a *vocal choir* as they have *splendid band.* Against *their* mighty symphonies, isolated songs and duets have nearly as poor an effect as miniatures hung up in a gallery of historical paintings. The members of this Society are rich and powerful, why should not this concert be the *first and most perfect* in England? Will not the hint of so many subscribers leaving, cause some reform in this respect?

The proposed establishment of a German opera, to be conducted by the Chev. Spontini, appears not to have been effected, as he requires a certain subscription to insure his company against loss. During his stay in England, Spontini was actively engaged in gathering materials for his new opera "*Oliver Cromwell,*" which he is now completing.

Among the musical works published lately, we may notice the piano forte studies of Henselt, in which "*The Love Song,*" "*The Romanza,*" and "*Ave Maria,*" are evident proofs this young Professor possesses great musical fancy and feeling. He is to visit London this season. Chappells' collection of *English Melodies,* arranged by Dr. Crotch and others, seems likely to become popular. A set of glees, &c. by a rising English composer (J. M'Murdie, Mus. Bac. Oxon.) are in the press. There is very great talent in this work. One from Ossian, "*By the Dark Rolling Waters,*" à la Callcot, is both imaginative and effective; the composer is a musician of the genuine school.

The Festivals projected this year, are the Liverpool, Norwich and Oxford, besides the meeting of the three Choirs at Worcester.

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* The rage for these instrumental promenade concerts has extended itself over the City; in many young men the charm has wrought a vast change, the billiard-room and the divan are now neglected (the house has been nightly filled to the ceiling,) a new taste has sprung up among the junior merchants, and the result is the establishment of similar entertainments in all directions.

Musical Works published on the Continent since our last Number.

Fétis, F. J., Biographie universelle des Musiciens et bibliographie générale de la Musique. 8vo. *Bruxelles.* 10s. 6d.

Griepenkerl, W. R., Das Musikfest, oder die Beethovener. 12mo. *Leipzig.* 7s. 6d.

Mainzer, Esquisses musicales et souvenirs de voyage. Vol. I. 8vo. *Paris.* 4s. 6d.

Nicolai, G., Der Musikfeind. Ein Nachstück. Second Edit. 8vo. *Leips.* 6s.

Schilling, G., Allgemeine Generalbasslehre, mit besonderer Rucksicht auf angehende Musiker und gebildete Dilettanten. 8vo. *Darmstadt.* 13s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

FRANCE.

At a recent sale in Paris several original autographs were disposed of. Boileau's realized 170 francs, Fenelon's 110 f., La Fontaine's 320 f., Racine's 175 f.; and for Tasso's 400 francs were paid.

In the year 1790 France had 118 bishops, 18 archbishops, 37,000 vicars, 20,000 curates, 3600 prebends, 5500 canons, 18,000 monks, and 36,000 nuns, altogether nearly 115,000, for whose support 170 millions of francs were not found sufficient. In 1837 France had 3301 vicars, of whom 2527 had each 1200 f. annually, and 774 received 1500 f.; 25,360 curates, among whom were 22,680 that received only 800 francs per annum, being under 60 years of age, and the remainder (2680) received 1000 francs.

Braconnier has propounded a curious doctrine in his work, "Essais sur la Langue Français," respecting the genders of nouns. He says *nature* has pointed out the distinction between the masculine and the feminine. Man, the lord of the earth, his greatness, strength and power, and whatever regards his character in those particulars, must be in the masculine; while on the contrary whatever denotes or assimilates to weakness—the want of power—must be in the feminine. Thus he instances *le fleuve* and *la source*. He also produces several examples in support of his theory where poets and the best prose writers have used one and the same term, sometimes in the masculine and at others in the feminine. He further expresses the absurd wish that every exertion should be made to extinguish the neuter from all languages, the figurative style being the most beautiful and perfect.

Paris.—Scriptorum Græcorum Bibliotheca.—The new volume (the third) of this collection contains Xenophon, Greek and Latin, with indexes, edited by L. Dindorf. The Latin translation is collated from Hutchinson, Edwards, and Leon Clavius. The first two volumes contain Homer and Aristophanes, beautifully printed by F. Didot.

The "Voluspa," "Vafthrudnismal," and "Lokasenna," from Saemund's poem of Edda, have been republished in Icelandic, with French translation and Glossary by Bergman, at Paris.

Two Lives of Napoleon on the same plan are now publishing at Paris; the first by Laurent, with the beautiful drawings of Horace Vernet, and another by Norvins, whose historical talent is so well known, with illustrations by Raffet. Both are of the same size and price, and have met with nearly the same success.

The first edition of C. Delavigne's new play, *La Popularité*, has been purchased, it is asserted, for 8,000 francs by M. Delloye, the publisher.

Dominique Mondo has translated Dr. Lichtenthal's "Dizionario de Musica" into French; the work will very shortly appear.

M. Garcin de Tassy will publish in the course of a month the first volume of his "Histoire de la litérature Hindoustanii." Report speaks most highly of the talent and research displayed in this work and which promises to add even to the high reputation of its distinguished author.

M. de Tassy intends visiting soon, in order to perfect a work he has in hand upon Eastern Coins.

The Asiatic Society of Paris has elected Mrs. Davids, the talented mother of the lamented Arthur Lumley Davids, a member of their association. This is the third lady so distinguished; the two others being the Princess Bogioloso, and the Comtesse Victorine de Chastenay.

ITALY.

Professor G. Jan in Parma is engaged on a translation of Shakspeare's works into Italian, under the title—"Opere di Shakspeare, nuova versione italiana, &c." The forwarded specimen leaves, from the Merchant of Venice and Romeo and Juliet, are sufficient proofs of the talent and care of the translator. He has commenced with King Lear, which will be printed at Zurich in three months; and a drama in 8vo. will appear every quarter of a year, accompanied with the English version, and the notes will be published separately at the end of every year. The original verses will be retained in metre.

A learned Italian, Manzano, in searching through the archives of Bologna, has discovered that the celebrated Maid of Orleans was descended from the race of the Ghislieri, and was the daughter of Ferrante Ghislieri, who fled from his country in 1401, when Giovanni Bentivoglio usurped the sovereignty of Bologna.

Rome.—The latest production of the arts in this city is a beautiful painting of the Good Samaritan by a talented young Spaniard, Lorenzale, who, with Mr. Ward, an Englishman, have been each awarded the silver medal prizes of the Academy of San Luca.

Dr. H. Schulz, of Dresden, who has been staying for a considerable time in Rome, is about publishing the History of the Arts of Southern Italy from the earliest period to the sixteenth century. It will be complete in three volumes folio, and illustrated with 120 engravings on copper. The drawings consist of many highly interesting Byzantine architectural monuments of Puglia, and are beautifully executed by Hallmann, a Hanoverian; those of Sicily are by Cavallari and are of a masterly style.

GERMANY.

A new edition of Tieck and Schlegel's Shakspeare's works has been announced at Berlin to appear in a smaller and cheaper form in 12mo volumes, uniform with the new edition of Schiller's works.

Dr. Förster is lecturing at the Munich museum upon the arts during the middle ages, to very numerous assemblies.

In the year 1758 the Emperor Francis I. of Germany held a grand hunt on the estate of Prince Colloredo in Bohemia; the number of hunters was twenty-three, including three ladies, and it continued eighteen days. 47,950 heads of game were killed, consisting of 19 deer, 77 roes, 10 foxes, 18,243 hares, 19,545 partridges, 9499 pheasants, 114 larks, 353 quails, &c. &c. The emperor had 9789 shots, and the Princess Charlotte, his sister, 9010. The total number of shots fired was 116,209.

The Iliad of Homer has been lately translated in the Sanscrit.

The railroad from Leipzig to Dresden will be completed by the 15th April for the Leipzig fair, with the exception of the Oberauer Tunnel.

Dresden.—Prince Johann of Saxony is about to publish a second edition of his translation of Dante's Divina Comedia, the first part, "Inferno," will shortly appear, with a beautiful frontispiece by M. Retzsch.

Retzsch has finished the first six plates of his Outlines to Burger's Leonore, but they will not be published till he has completed the series that is intended to illustrate this poem. Those already etched are beautiful, and promise a great gratification to his friends in England, where we are persuaded it will be as much liked as his "Song of the Bell," and the Outlines to other German poems.

Hamburg.—The second edition of Neander's Life of Christ has already been exhausted, and a new edition is expected in a few days.

Professor Marbach of Leipzig is publishing a series of "Volksbucher," or a reprint of the popular tales and histories which were published for the amusement of the lower classes about a century ago. Among those that are already published are, Tyll Eulenspiegel, die Heymons Kinder, der gehörnte Siegfried, Genoveva, and many more.

The coronation at Milan has given an opportunity to many German publishers to speculate in coronation albums and such like. The best of any that we have seen is a description of the ceremony, the processions, parades, &c., by August Lewald, in 4to., with several plates and vignettes; published at Carlsruhe.

The second volume of Count Raczynski's "Histoire de l'Art Moderne en Allemagne" will shortly appear at Berlin.

Dr. Biernatzki, whose former religious novels have been so favourably received in Germany, and also translated into Dutch, Danish, Swedish and French, and we believe into English, has just published a new one under the title of "Der Braune Knabe, oder die Gemeinde in der Zerstreuung."

The volume of Miracle Plays mentioned in our last number is merely a reprint of the following plays: The Deluge and Antichrist, from the Chester series; Joseph's Jealousy, the Trial of Joseph and Mary, and the Pageant of the Company of Shearmen and Tailors, from the Coventry series; Pharao, Pastores, Crucifixio, Extractio animarum ab inferno, Juditium, from the Townley series. Prefixed is an historical view of the English Miracle Plays by Dr. William Marriott, and appended two plays of a later date—Candlemas Day and God's Promises.

The "Freihafen," a new quarterly belletristical journal, continues also for 1839. The first number has papers by Chamisso, Carus, Varnhagen von Ense, Mundt, and others; the former numbers had papers by Dr. Strauss, Prince Puckler, and other fashionable authors.

The new number of the "Deutsche Viertel-Jahrsschrift" contains papers on the Journals in Germany—on the German Population—and Manners of the Americans;—Scientific and Spiritual Life in Italy—The Bogota Table-Land, by Baron von Humbolt;—The Foreign Commerce of France, particularly with Germany, and many smaller notices, &c.

The "Conversationslexicon der Gegenwart" is appearing in rapid succession; the last number brings it to the letter E.

The new edition of Herder's Cid, with border-drawings and illustrations by Eugen Neureuther, already so well known and estimated in this country, has at

last appeared; the engravings are executed by the first English wood-cutters, and the book is a worthy companion to the many other illustrated works lately published on the continent.

A new translation of Cicero's works into German is announced. The principal contributors are Von Strombeck, Fr. Jacobs, Droysen, A. W. Zumpt, A. Westermann, and Dr. Klotz the editor. It will be published in about eight volumes.

Dr. Bretschneider of Halle has published a little novel, founded upon the abuse the Pope has lately made of the mixed marriages in Rhenish Prussia. It met with great success, and an edition was sold in a few days.

Several artists at Munich have united to bring out a series of plates in lithography, in the tinted manner of some of our lithographers. The subject they have chosen is the illustration of the Tyrol.

Eugen Neureuther, the artist that published the border-drawings to Göthe's ballads and other German poets, is about to publish a portfolio of his etchings, which we have no doubt will be welcome to many of his admirers in this country.

MUNICH.—The beautiful MS. in the library of this town containing the Polyglot Lord's Prayer, with the border-drawings by Albert Dürer, is about to be published by Cotta in close imitation of the original, by coloured lithography. The title will be—" Oratio Dominica Polyglotta singularum linguarum characteribus expressa, et delineationibus Alberti Düreri cincta, edita a F. X. Hoeger, &c. ' The size is folio, and the price, we expect, will be about twenty to twenty-five florins.

GREIFSWALD.—Professor Schoemann of this university will shortly publish an edition of two of the biographies of Plutarch, with a Latin Commentary and Preface. The text is collated from the Codex at Paris, and various readings have been advised from the libraries of Heidelberg, Göttingen, &c.

A new edition of Plato is now publishing at Zurich in parts, edited by Baiter, Orell, and Winkelmann; it will form one large volume, and be completed early in the year 1840.

M. Malchus, a German political economist, has published the following comparison of the working of the savings banks in the different countries of Europe at the end of 1837.

	SAVINGS BANKS.		FLORINS.
Austrian States, including Italy . .	8	with	30,325,993
Prussian do. (Posen has none) . .	80	"	9,544,296
Independent States of Germany . .	201	"	23,920,736
Switzerland	58	"	7,891,353
Belgium	5	"	6,466,365
Holland	50	"	2,771,608
Duchy of Sleswig	22	"	300,000
France	250	"	49,777,423
British Islands	484	"	362,847,622
Independent Italian States	2	"	1,500,000

Total number of banks, 1,160; total florins, 495,347,796.

The heads of the Rhine and the Danube approach near each other by nature, and their artificial junction has been already accomplished. The consequence will therefore arise that the northern states must consent to a fair and open trade by the Rhine, or submit to an illicit trade by its new competitor—theDanube.

The following account of the circulation of the Vienna journals is taken from the *Nuremburg Correspondent*:—Official Gazette, 2,600; Austrian Observer, 600; The Eagle, 270; Theatrical Gazette, 1,300; Humourist, 450; Vienna Journal, 600; Spectator, 750. A commercial journal, the Shareholder, is to appear next year, as well as a literary paper in French.

10,000,000 volumes are printed in Germany and 50,000 authors (annually).

The subscription for the intended Thorwaldsen Museum at Copenhagen, not having amounted to a sufficient sum for erecting an edifice worthy of its objects, the king has appropriated to this purpose the wing of the new palace at Christiansberg, which stands between the chapel and the menage. Thorwaldsen is already busily employed in arranging this building for its new destination, and, as soon as this task is finished, intends to return to Rome.

TURKEY.

Dr. Loewe is now returning from his Egyptian and Oriental tour, through Greece and Italy. He was most kindly received at Constantinople by Lord and Lady Ponsonby, and his presence in that capital created great sensation among the learned. The sultan showed the young savant every mark of attention and favour, and employed him to translate the hieroglyphics of an obelisk. Dr. Loewe is rich in Oriental MSS., and promises a Nubian, among other grammars. We grieve to learn that this enterprising scholar was robbed by the Druses, at Zefed, of property to the amount of £400.

Constantinople.—The all-engrossing topic of conversation here is the erection of the new Opera and the proceedings at the provisional theatre, a large hotel having been fitted up for that purpose near the *Almeidan* square. This house is nightly filled notwithstanding the high charges for admission, viz. from 2 to 10 piasters, 8*s.* to 2*l.* The Turks, who are naturally very early people, retiring to rest at the same time as the fowls, take such an interest in the musical entertainments that they sit contentedly until the termination, which is generally near midnight.

ARABIA.

Earl Munster is, we understand, preparing for the press some interesting military annals from the Arabic.

EGYPT.

We earnestly recommend to our readers the subscription for assisting the Rev. W. Tattam's object of obtaining Coptic MSS. of the Bible, &c. in Egypt and the East, whither this distinguished scholar has repaired, at considerable inconvenience and sacrifice, for this important object, the utility of which can be doubted only by the grossest ignorance. We have been surprised to see some silly attacks on the project, in letters to the Times and Literary Gazette, inserted by the good-natured sufferance and impartiality of those two valuable journals: especially as in the former instance the display of learning made by the writer, though not its perversion, was taken without acknowledgment from the really learned and profound, but unpretending, pages of Mr. Williams' Essay on Hieroglyphics.

We have been favoured with a sight of a MS. letter from the Pasha of Egypt

to an English lady, which, as it is somewhat of a literary curiosity, we have had translated for our columns. The letter is addressed to Mrs. Davids, mother of the talented Lumley Davids, whose premature death will long be deplored by the literary and scientific world. It is the *third* royal letter received by that lady, deploring the loss of her highly-gifted son (the first being from Mahmoud the Second, with a diamond ring, the second from Louis Philippe, with a cup). The contents of the letter are as follows:—

" Dignified, intelligent, estimable Mrs. Davids, the manifester of sincere friendship, his Excellency my friend Col. Campbell, of high rank and dignity, established at Alexandria as Consul-General for the illustrious government of England, has sent to me an excellent work, giving instructions how to translate from English into Turkish, and from Turkish into English, a surprising proof of the ability of its author, who had thus, while almost yet in his infancy, made himself acquainted with all the niceties of grammatical science. I read the book with great pleasure, and learn from it that its estimable author, after having reached the extremity of perfection here, hath ascended to Heaven. That he should have left such a testimony of his progress in solid sciences and successful attempts at attaining perfection, though it increases our regret for his loss, must be a source of consolation and exultation to you. If, by the blessing of the Most High, this sheet should reach you, it will be an evidence to you of my sincere regard."

Mohamed Ali, 1229. 21 Jumádé 1 ewerel, 1254.
10th August, 1838.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A new translation of Goethe's Faust by Jonathan Birch, Esq. is in the press, and will speedily appear with the illustrations of M. Retzsch, but in a smaller and more convenient size.

The Golden Eagle.—The stamping of this superb coin has commenced at the mint of Philadelphia: it is 34 years since any of this coin was struck, the coinage ceasing in 1804, because the erroneous standard of our gold caused it to be exported.

Accerding to recent calculations, which we find in the Stockholm papers, the actual population of Sweden amounts to 3,025,140 souls, showing an increase of one-fifth since his present majesty was called to the throne.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT,

FROM JANUARY TO MARCH, 1839, INCLUSIVE.

THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE.

Acta historico-ecclesiastica secula XIX. *Hamburg.* 12s. 6d.

Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung. Ein Archiv für die neueste Geschichte und Statistik der Christlichen Kirche für 1839. 2 Vols. or 12 Parts, 208 Nos. 4to. *Darmstadt.* 1*l.* 10s.

Ammon, von, Handbuch der Christlichen Sittenlehre. Vol. III. Second Edition. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 7s. 6d.

Ammon, Dr. C. F., Die gemischten Ehen namentlich der Katholiken und Protestanten. 8vo. *Dresden.* 5s. 6d.

Berliner allgemeine Kirchenzeitung für 1839. 104 Nos. 4to. *Berlin.* 15s.

Compendium theologiae moralis. Fourth Edition. 8vo. *Breslau.* 6s.

Gehle, H., Disputatio historico-theologica de Bedae venerabilis presbyteri anglo-saxonis vita et scriptis. 8vo. *Leyden.* 5s.

Gfrörer, A. F., Geschichte des Urchristenthums. Parts II. and III. 8vo. *Stuttg.* 1*l.* 8s.

Gregorius.—Sancti patris nostri Gregorii theologi vulgo Nazianzeni archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opera omnia, post operam et studium monachorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti è congregatione Sancti Mauri. Edente et accurante A. P. Caillau. 2 Vols. Folio. *Paris.*

Guerike, Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Third Edition. Part IX. to XII. 8vo. *Halle.* Price of the (whole) 2 Vols. 1*l.*

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Literarischer Anzeiger für Christliche Theologie und Wissenschaft. 80 Nos. 4to. *Halle.* 15s.

Magazin für Christliche Prediger Dr. J. F. Röhr. Vol. II. Pt. 2. *Hanover.* 4s.

Mayer, Dr., Die Elementar Organisation des Seelen Organes. 4to. *Bonn.* 7s.

Münch, Dr. Ernst, Allgemeine Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche von dem Ende des Tridentinischen Konziliums bis auf unsere Tage. 8vo. *Carlsruhe.* 7s.

Das Neue Testament nach der deutschen Uebersetzung D. Martin Luthers. Mit Erklärungen, Einleitungen, einer Harmonie der 4 Evangelien, einer vollständigen Geographie von Palästina, einer Zeittafel über die Apostelgeschichte, und verschiedene Tafeln, Register, &c. Third Edition. 4to. *Berlin.* 13s.

Novum Testamentum graecè, secundum editiones probatissimas expressum, nova versione latina illustratum, praecipuae lectionum et interpretationum diversitatis indice instructum, auctore D. H. A. Schott. Editio 4. 8vo. *Lips.* 11s.

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